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II

CORPUS BASILICARUM CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS OF ROME
(IV – IX Cent.)

BY

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER SPENCER CORBETT
WOLFGANG FRANKL

VOL. IV

1970
CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA
ROMA — VIA NAPOLEONE III, 1

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
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TIPOGRAFIA POLIGLOTTA VATICANA

ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY QUOTED WORKS

ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus... Romae.*	FRANCESCO ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae et veteris Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1510; we cite the edition of Basel, 1519.
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PERIODICALS AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

AA.SS.	*Acta sanctorum.*
A.J.A.	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Arch. Anz.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.	*Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria.*
Atti Pont. Accad.	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
B.A.C.	*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.*
Boll. d'arte.	*Bollettino d'arte.*
Bull. Com.	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale.*
B.Z.	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
Diss. Pont. Accad.	*Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
Mél. Ec. Franç.	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome.*
Mem. Pont. Accad.	*Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*

Mon. Accad. Lincei.	*Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia dei Lincei.*
N.B.A.C.	*Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.*
Not. sc.	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità. R. Accademia dei Lincei.*
Papers Brit. School.	*Papers of the British School at Rome.*
R.A.C.	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana.*
Rendic. Pont. Accad.	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.*
Rev. Arch.	*Revue Archéologique.*
Röm. Mitt.	*Römische Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
R.Q. Schr.	*Römische Quartalschrift.*

PREFACE

This the fourth volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, appears at a comparatively short distance from the third volume, and the authors hope that the users of the *Corpus* will be as happy as they are themselves that it has been possible to shorten the intervals between the publications of the individual volumes. This is due in large part to the financial support provided by the Jayne Wrightsman Professorship Fund at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and we should like to express our heartfelt thanks to the generous donors.

Our thanks go likewise to the many who have been helpful to us in our work. Foremost, to Craig Hugh Smyth, the director of the Institute of Fine Arts, whose constant encouragement, practical help and warm friendship have sustained our labors over the years. We are equally grateful to Professor Enrico Josi, the rector of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archeology in Rome, and for so many years an old friend and mentor through the labyrinth of Christian archeology in Rome. Our thanks are due, likewise, to a number of colleagues in Rome: to Professor Carlo Ceschi who generously has offered advice on a number of problems concerning Santo Stefano Rotondo; to Professor Guglielmo Matthiae, who has provided us with information and photographs regarding San Vitale; to Professor G. Pacini, the Soprintendente ai Monumenti del Lazio, who in every respect, and beyond the call of duty, has facilitated our work; to Dr. Ernest Nash, who through the Fototeca Unione has provided us with a number of photographs; to Professor P. Testini of the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archeology in Rome, who, in the printing stage, has again maintained liaison with the Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana and assisted us in producing what we hope to be a presentable volume.

Our thanks go, needless to say, as always to the personnel of the many libraries we have used: the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, the American Academy in Rome, the German Archeological Institute in Rome, the Bibliotheca Hertziana and the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana are foremost on our mind.

In editing this volume we have been able to count on the help of a number of student assistants at the Institute of Fine Arts. In the first place, Miss Patricia Waddy, Miss Laura Kaufman and Mrs. Charlotte Lacaze have assisted me in a thousand ways in preparing the manuscript. Messieurs John Herrmann, Ronald Malmstrom and Fr. Thomas Mathews, S. J., have been good enough to clarify on the spot a number of points. Assistance in collecting the bibliographies has been given by these same and by other students whose names appear under the respective chapters.

This fourth volume, as the reader will perceive, is the last in the regular series of churches carrying them from Q through V. A supplementary volume, as announced, will have to include the three great basilicas so far omitted: St. John's in the Lateran, Old St. Peter's, and S. Paolo fuori le mura. Deo volente, it should go to press in the not too unforeseeable future.

Richard Krautheimer

Institute of Fine Arts,
New York University,
December 1969

SS. QUATTRO CORONATI

(*R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett*)*

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* Research Assistant: Penelope C. Mayo.

B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Ancient descriptions.

Ugonio, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 2160, f. 198^{r} (146^{v}).

II. Ancient illustrations.

1515—1520 Anonymous, Drawings, one of a cornice now lost, inscribed, "*In S.ti 4*", one of a second cornice inscribed "*sup(er) portam ecclesiae quator sanctorum coronat(orum)*", pen and wash; London, Soane Coll., *Codex Coner*, ff. 80^{v}, 83 (Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 51, pl. 104; p. 53, pl. 109). On Fra Giocondo's drawing this cornice is marked "*sopra la porta de la strada che si entra dentro*" (Uffizi, dis. arch. 1542^{v}; Bartoli, *Monumenti*, I, pl. 34, fig. 61); see also a second drawing by Fra Giocondo (Uffizi, dis. arch. 1535^{v}; *ibid.*, I, pl. 30, fig. 57) and the drawings by B. Peruzzi (Uffizi, dis. arch. 411; *ibid.*, II, pl. 127, fig. 231), and Sansovino (Uffizi, dis. arch. 1961^{v}).

ca. 1550 Anonymous, drawing of a corbel inscribed "*In S.ti. Quattro*", now visible on the outer north wall as a support of a small projecting apse, pen and wash; *Codex Coner*, f. 19^{v} (Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 147; our fig. 10*b*).

1577 Dupérac-Lafréry, Bird's-eye view of the area between SS. Quattro Coronati and the Lateran Hospital showing front of church, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, Rome, 1908; Colini, *op. cit.*, fig. 250).

1580 Fra Santi, Façade and forecourt of church inscribed "*Temp. SS. Quatuor Cor.*", woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 53^{v}.

1616 Giovannoli, View of north side of church and convent, engraving; *Vedute degli Antichi Vestigi di Roma*, Rome, 1616, pl. 11; *Roma antica*, II, Rome, 1619, f. 23 (Colini, *op. cit.*, fig. 251).

1619—1629 Breenbergh, Drawing of church seen from the north, black pen and wash (Egger, I, pl. 95).

XVII century Anonymous, View of north slope of Celio between SS. Quattro Coronati and the Lateran, drawing, black pen; Louvre, Cab. des Dessins, 20127 (Colini, *op. cit.*, fig. 244).

XVIII century Anonymous, View from west of apse of SS. Quattro Coronati and the Lateran Palace, inscribed "*Veduta di S. Giovanni Laterano di Roma*" (London, *R.I.B.A.*, L. 3, p. 91).

ca. 1800 Giani, View of apse and surroundings (?), considerably altered, pen and wash; Rome, Biblioteca Hertziana, Giani Sketchbooks, vol. III, f. 34.

1808—1811 Ingres, Views of church and convent (from North; from West; entrance tower; first courtyard), pencil; Montauban, Musée Ingres (Naef, *Rome vue par Ingres*, Lausanne, [1960], pls. 50-53, catal. 83-86).

1823—1829 Rossini, Distant view of apse, etching; *I sette colli*, Rome, n.d. [during pontificate of Leo XII] (Rome, Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte, Racc. Lanciani, old. no. 39.1.17, no. 39091).

C. CHRONOLOGY

354 The *Depositio Martyrum*, contained in the Calendar of 354, lists on November 9 ("*V id. nov.*") the festival of "*Clementis, Semproniani, Claudi, Nicostrati in comitatum*" (Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* [Kleine Texte, 2], Bonn, 1911, p. 4; *L.P.*, I, p. 12).

IV century Under the date Nov. 8, the *Passio SS. Quattuor Coronatorum* written by Porphyrius, "*censualis a gleba*", presents the four saints as sculptors from Dalmatia martyred under Diocletian (*AA. SS. Nov.*, III, p. 748 ff.; Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.).

early V century (?) The Bernensis variant of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* places the festival of the four martyrs on November 8 "*Romae ad Caelio monte*" (*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. De Rossi and Duchesne, p. 140; *AA. SS. Nov.*, II, p. 590).

V-VI century (?) The Roman "*Passio*" presents the four martyrs as police officers martyred in Rome (*AA. SS. Nov.*, III, p. 780 ff.).

499 The presbyters Iovinus, Dionysius, and Eutyches, "*tituli Aemilianae*", attend the synod of 499 (*M.G.H.*, *Auct. ant.*, p. 412 ff.). Presumably this title, no longer named at the synod of 595, was renamed *titulus sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum* (see below, dig. 595; *L.P.*, I, p. 326, n. 13; II, pp. 21 and 43, n. 77; Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 33 ff.).

595 "*Fortunatus presbyter tituli sanctorum quattuor Coronatorum*" signs at the synod of this year, this being the first official use of that designation (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 367; see above, dig. 499).

625—638 Honorius I dedicates the church of SS. Quattro Coronati and bestows upon it many gifts ("*...eodem tempore fecit ecclesiam beatorum martyrum Quattuor Coronatorum, quem et dedicavit, et donum obtulit*"; *L.P.*, I, p. 324).

The *Itinerarium Salisburgense* (*Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*) mentions, on the Via Labicana near the "*ecclesia helenae ... in speluncam*" in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, "*IIII Coronatos*" (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 139; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 83).

ca. 635-642 The *Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum* mentions "*juxta viam ... lavicanam*" in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, the "*IIII Coronati id est Claudius, Nicostratus, Simpronianus, Castorius, Simplicius*" (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 142).

745 Theophanius, "*presbyter tituli sanctorum quatuor coronatorum*", signs at the second Roman council (Mansi, *Conciliorum*, XII, 1776, col. 384).

772—795 Hadrian I completely restores "*sarta tecta tituli sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum*" which was in danger of collapsing ("*quae in ruinas existebant*") and replaces numerous roof beams ("*trabes ibidem pluros imponens*") (*L.P.*, I, p. 512).

795—816 Leo III donates vestments "*titulo Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 11) and a silver crown "*in titulo Aemilianae fecit coronam de argento pens. lib. IIII semis*" (*L.P.*, II, pp. 21 and 43, n. 77. For the identification of the *titulus Aemilianae* with Quattro Coronati, see above, dig. 499).

827—844 Gregory IV gives textiles "*tituli Emilianae*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 77). He also donates a silver reliquary inscribed "*AD DECOREM CAPITIS B. SEBASTIANI GREG. IIII. EPS. OP. F.*" designed to hold the head of Saint Sebastian (see Lucatelli, *op. cit.*, p. 39).

847—855 Leo IV, formerly presbyter "*Sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum*", is elected pope in that church. Later he donates "*in basilica sanctorum IIII Coronatorum*" numerous gifts, including silver canisters, aquamaniles, a silver ciborium ("*ciburium ex argento..., pens. lib. CCCXIII*") and a silver crown to be suspended from a pergola standing before the altar ("*pergula ..., quae est ante altare maiore*"). He also gives censers, candlesticks and a number of textiles, including one representing Christ, the martyrs and himself, twelve veils "*in arcos videntur pendere*", thirty-four veils, also to hang in the church, and rich vestments for the altar. For the area of the high altar alone ("*ad honorem et gloriam sacri altaris*"), he donates cloths of varying types: "*cum rotis VI ... IIII cum gammadias de crisoclabo et gemmis ac bullis aureis XXXIII*", one with the image of a man "*sedentis super pavonem*", three with the nativity of Christ and "*XIII ... vela alia fundata*". Apparently for the ciborium itself he gives four hangings with the "*Resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi*", and several alternative hangings in groups of four. He also recovers the bodies of the martyrs "*Claudio, Nicostrato, Simphroniano, ... Castorio, et Simplicio*", along with other martyrs, and enshrines the relics under the ciborium. His provision for the martyr's crypt, renewed by Paschal II, is recorded in a XII century inscription, formerly an integral part of the high altar and now situated on the left wall by the door of the sacristy (for the donations of Leo IV, see *L.P.*, II, pp. 108 f., 115 f., 119 f., 127 ff.; for the inscription, see Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 291, no. 717).

855—858 Benedict III speaks to a gathering of the clergy and people in "*Emilianae titulo*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 142 f.).

885—891 Pope Stephen V, former presbyter of SS. Quattro Coronati, gives to the church a jeweled and enameled gold cross to hang from a crown above the altar, two candlesticks, silver canisters and numerous books (*L.P.*, II, pp. 191, 195).

1046—1047 Benedict, antipope of Clement II, retains the pontificate for a few months following the feast of SS. Quattro Coronati (*L.P.*, II, p. 273).

1084 The basilica is burned during the Norman invasion of Robert Guiscard (see below, dig. 1099-1118).

1099—1118 Paschal II restores the church of SS. Quattro Coronati which had been destroyed by the Normans and consecrates the new structure on January 20, 1116: "*... ecclesiam sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum quae tempore Roberti Guiscardi Salernitani principis destructa erat, a fundamentis refecit atque consecravit anno pontificatus sui X°, VII° mense ian, die XX*^{mo}" (*L.P.*, II, p. 305). In a bull issued May 24, 1116, Paschal II indicates that his remodeling of the church reduced its size: "*Nostris sane temporibus sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum ecclesiam tituli nomine insignem igne consumptam novimus ... bellorum diuturnitate ... Set cum indignum valde videretur ut tot sanctorum corpora, que eadem fuerant ecclesia tumulata, per tanta temporis interstitia congruis carerent officiis ... ecclesiam ipsam licet minoribus spatiis reparare et sanctorum ... corpora congruenter coperire curavimus ...,*" and he establishes a monastic congregation (Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 4 f.; Kehr, "Papsturkun-

den in Umbrien", *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1898, p. 349 ff., esp. 379 f.; see also JAFFE, LÖWENFELD et al., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, I, Berlin, 2nd ed. 1885-88, p. 744 f.). Restorations in 1111 are recorded together with those of Leo IV on a plaque, now on the left wall by the sacristy door (*L.P.*, II, p. 305 f.; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 291 no. 717; see also above, dig. 847-855). Presumably at this time the apse was decorated with frescoes, donated by Tuttabuona and executed by Gregorius and Petrolinus (for inscription, now lost, see FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 110, no. 725; UGONIO, *op. cit.*, *Schedario*, f. 198v; IDEM, *Stationi*, c. 219 f.; MANCINI, *Viaggio di Roma*, ed. Schudt, Leipzig, 1923, p. 69 f.; and ADINOLFI, *op. cit.*, p. 330, referring to Angelo Mai, *Spicilegio*, IX, p. 452.

1246 Stephanus, title cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere, builds the Capella di S. Silvestro and adjoining living quarters, as recorded in an inscription in the first courtyard, now lost (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 290, no. 718; see also ADINOLFI, *op. cit.*, p. 330, quoting *Inscriptiones Ecclesiarum Romanae Urbis Collectae a Carolo de Secua, Antonio Bosio et Johanne Severano*, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, G. 28, p. 45; for an inscribed plaque indicating the decorations of the chapel and dating the dedication "*M.CC.XLVI*", see FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 290, no. 719).

1248 A painted crucifix for the altar in an aisle is donated by Divitia and dated in an inscription (ADINOLFI, *op. cit.*, p. 332).

1417—1431 Cardinal Alfonso Carillo (Cariglio) restores the cardinal's quarters under Pope Martin V, according to an inscription on the west face of the entrance tower (FORCELLA, ISCRIZIONI, VIII, p. 290, no. 720).

1560 Under Pius IV, the church is given to the convent of the Augustinian nuns (PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 182).

1547—1580 Cardinal Henry of Portugal (later King of Portugal) donates the nave ceiling and, presumably, the vaults of the aisles (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 219; IDEM, *op. cit.*, *Schedario*, f. 198v, refers to his coat of arms which appeared there: "*Media autem navis laqueare ligneum variis intagliis ornatum atque elaboratum est quod opus Henricus Card. lis Lusitanie qui deinde regnavit fieri sua impensa curavit ut insignia ostendunt*"; see MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, "La cripta e la tribuna ...," 1913, p. 197 ff.).

1570 Work in the first courtyard on the door frame of the Capella di S. Silvestro, as recorded in a dated inscription on an architrave (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 291, no. 721).

1588 Frescoes are executed in the portico of first courtyard; inscription (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 76).

1621—1632 Restoration of the church is begun by Cardinal Garcia Millini († 1629) and completed by Cardinal Vidoni. It includes: excavation of the relic chamber, rediscovery of relics and construction of vaulted chamber (MEMMOLO, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.; see also below, dig. 1624 for inscription of Urban VIII); decoration of the apse with pilasters and with frescoes by Giovanni di San Giovanni, thus replacing the older decorations (MEMMOLO, *op. cit.*, p. 44; BAGLIONE, *Le vite de' pittori...*, Rome, 1642, p. 313 f.; DELOGU, *op. cit.*, p. 113 ff.; inscriptions of 1623, MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 80); construction of the altar of St. Sebastian in the left aisle by Cardinal Vidoni in 1632 (LUCATELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 42 f.); pilaster decoration in the second courtyard (Torrigio, in marginal notes to his copy of UGONIO, *Stationi*, Vatican Library, Stampate Barberini V.XV.8, as quoted by MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 7 and APOLLONJ GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 79); remodeling of the crypt; and the installation of the present altar and balustrade of the chancel.

1624 The restorations of Leo IV, Paschal II and Cardinal Millini are recorded in an inscription of Urban VIII in "*MDCXXIV*" on the base of the right pilaster of the great apse arch (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 292, no. 725).

late XVII century Pietro Santi Bartoli notices a small bath: "*Nello stradone del Coliseo per andare a S. Giovanni, alla mano dritta in un orto di sotto santi Quattro ... fra le altre rovine antiche una stufa di bellissima disposizione, quale si conosceva essere degli antichi cristiani ridotta in forma di chiesa, per alcune immagini sagre, che vi erano dipinte ...; e nella parte di sotto la quale serviva per officina del fuoco era ridotta in cimitero ...; nel quale luogo ogni ripartimento avea, oltre le ossa del cadavere, li suoi lacrimatori, con altri segni de' cristiani; ma de' tempi antichi-moderni*" (BARTOLI, "Memorie...", in FEA, *Miscellanea filologica critica e antiquaria*, Rome, 1790, p. 224 f.; quoted in COLINI, *op. cit.*, p. 302; and in APOLLONJ GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

1768 Clement XIII is recorded as "*facienti quarto quoque anno arae huic maximae argenteum calicem quatuorque cereos ...*" in an inscription dated "*Anno MDCCLXVIII*", on the side of the left pilaster of the great arch at the nave crossing (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 295, no. 733).

1872 Roman remains including capitals, an inscription and a niche are found behind the apse of the present church (ROSA, *Sulle scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma negli anni 1871-72*, Rome, 1873, p. 13 ff.; quoted by COLINI, *op. cit.*, p. 300 f.; see FERRUA, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, p. 205, no. 52, for Damasian fragments in Capitoline Museum, Palazzo dei Conservatori).

1912—1914 Under the titular cardinal Pietro Respighi, A. MUÑOZ directs major restorations of the church, during which the nave colonnades of the older basilica are exposed and the old crypt and relic chamber are excavated (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, "La cripta e la tribuna...", 1913, p. 197 ff.).

1957 A new series of restorations are executed under Prof. Carlo Ceschi and Giovanni di Gesso in the western parts of the church in order to prevent the apse from falling. The work uncovers the foundation walls of the fourth century hall, and of the Carolingian right aisle, and the arcades of the first Romanesque church (APOLLONJ GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 12).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of the SS. Quattro Coronati stands at the top of a steep escarpment in the northern slope of the Coelian Hill. Its apse is oriented toward the west, and the church rises above the ancient Via Tusculana at the point where the road ascends to cross the Coelian plateau after traversing the low ground near the Coliseum. To the west and north, church and adjoining buildings



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 1. SS. Quattro Coronati. Church and convent from northwest, ca. 1890

overhang the crest of the escarpment and are supported on an artificial platform which is enclosed and buttressed by massive brick walls; at its northwest corner this platform is more than ten meters high (fig. 1). The church complex is entered from the east (pls. I, II; fig. 2). An archway beneath a tall rectangular gate tower leads into an outer courtyard or atrium, in one corner of which stands the richly frescoed thirteenth century Chapel of Saint Sylvester. The west and north sides of the court have late sixteenth century arcades. A gateway under the western arcade leads to an inner courtyard, terminated at its west end by a portico from which a single doorway opens into the nave of the present church. This courtyard was not part of the original arrangement; it was created in the twelfth or thirteenth century from the eastern bays of a church much longer and larger than the present one. Indeed, four arches of its northern arcade are preserved in the right wall of the inner courtyard (fig. 3). A narrow opening at the north end of the terminating portico gives access to a long room which was originally part of the north aisle of this larger church. The present church

consists of a nave flanked by aisles with galleries, a transept and an apse. The apse is disproportionately large because it, too, survives from the earlier and larger church. The decoration of the apse—pilasters carrying an entablature along the walls, and a frescoed half-dome by Giovanni di San Giovanni—as well as its window date from the seventeenth century. Below is an annular crypt which was also remodeled in the seventeenth century. The transept, nave, aisles and galleries of the present church are all included within the western half of the earlier nave (fig. 4). This is also manifest on the exterior, where the high transept wall visible from the cloister is obviously a vestige of an earlier clerestorey wall that was demolished in its upper part all along what is now the south wall of the aisles and galleries (fig. 5). The former nave colonnades, buried in the outer walls of the present aisles, were exposed in a program of restoration directed by A. Muñoz in the years 1912 to 1914. The area of the west half of the former south aisle is now occupied by the thirteenth century cloister, while the east half of that aisle is taken up by part of the convent of Augustinian nuns, in whose care the church has been since 1560. Until recently the western half of the north aisle of the earlier church was the nuns' refectory; it has, however, lately been restored, but without the removal of the thirteenth century walls which block the former arcades. The eastern half of the earlier north aisle (on the right side of the inner court) is still part of the convent.



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 2. SS. Quattro Coronati. Gate tower and entrance to outer court



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 3. SS. Quattro Coronati. Inner courtyard, arches of north arcade of earlier basilica

Roman remains have come to light in the neighborhood of the church on various occasions between 1872 and 1935[1]. These include the pavement of the Via Tusculana north of the church

[1] Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 300 ff. and pl. 16.



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 4. SS. Quattro Coronati. Interior, looking west



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

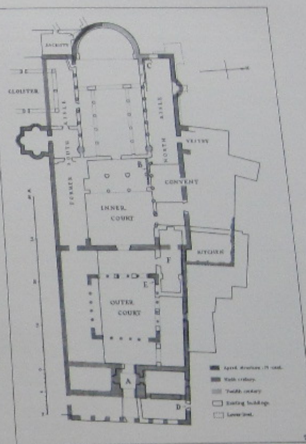
Fig. 5. SS. Quattro Coronati. South transept wall showing clerestory wall of earlier church

complex and corresponding roughly with the present Via dei Quattro Coronati; a *diverticulum* issuing from the Via Tusculana at the intersection of Via dei Quattro Coronati with Via dei Querceti, and running due south toward the apse of the church; another street pavement coming from the west-southwest, meeting the apse at an angle of about 30 degrees and then disappearing beneath it; finally a fourth street pavement, parallel to the former but roughly forty meters to the south, behind the cloister. Parallel to the third street and extending northwest are the remains of a large structure which includes a row of *tabernae;* these seem to encroach on the width of the street and thus are probably of later date. Another structure occupied the spaces between the third and fourth street. Both these buildings were apparently replaced at a later time by a construction of which two curved walls still survive [1]. Immediately behind the apse of the present church, at the intersection of Via dei Querceti with Via Capo d'Africa, elements which were believed to be the remains of an early church were found in 1872. They consist of capitals, inscriptions including Damasian fragments, and a niche with the springing of its vault [2]. A small bath structure was found below the north corner of the apse at the same time; it may be the one noticed by Pietro Santi Bartoli in the late seventeenth century [3]. In 1943 the walls of a building which appears to date from the fourth century A. D. came to light to the west of the church, ca. 4 m. below ground level. At a higher level, numerous medieval graves have been found [4]. The Servian city wall further west, and the classical mausolea which stood beyond it, need not be discussed here [5].

[1] *Ibid.*, pl. 16, shows these finds, but the text gives no hint as to their relative chronology.
[2] See above, dig. 1872.
[3] See Bartoli, in Fea, *Miscellanea...*, p. 224 ff., quoted above, dig. late XVII century.
[4] Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 34, and 304 ff.

E. ANALYSIS

The complicated building history of SS. Quattro Coronati makes it advisable to anticipate our conclusions at this point in order to identify the four major building phases that have to be distinguished, in addition to the redecorations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (fig. 6). These are (1) a fourth century apsed hall, (2) a large basilica of Carolingian date, (3) a rebuilding on the old plan of this early basilica in the Romanesque period and (4) its replacement in a later Romanesque phase by the present basilica with its forecourts and cloister. Our description of the large building complex is arranged in the following sequence: (1) exterior of the apse, (2) northwest substructures and exterior of the north aisle, (3) gate tower and outer court, (4) inner court, (5) north aisle and convent buildings, (6) interior of the present church and crypt, (7) cloisters and convent (pl. I).



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 6. SS. Quattro Coronati. Guide plan of church and forecourts

1. The Apse

The apse (fig. 7) rises high above the Via Tusculana, a tall half cylinder pierced near the top by three rectangular windows and at crypt level by a low window, all late sixteenth century openings. In the external face of the wall, seven distinct phases of construction are clearly marked (pls. I; II, b, c).

a. Antecedent structures

The original builders of the apse incorporated in their foundations the remains of a Roman street pavement and of several Roman buildings which skirted that street—the third of the streets listed in the preceding section. The south half of the apse (to the right when viewed from outside) was contiguous to, and partly rests against, a Roman building which stood oblique to the axis of the church. Originally the Roman walls rose some 10 m. above ground, terminating at a level which was 2.5 m. above the present church floor; but while the apse was being built another story was added, thus increasing the height of the Roman building by four meters and bringing it almost to the level of the seventeenth century window sills. Subsequently the oblique building was demol-

ished, and a setback which occurred at the level of the added story is now seen in reverse as an overhanging ledge in the portion of the apse which formerly touched the building. It is visible in figs. 1 and 7 near the point where the cylindrical wall disappears behind a fourteenth century wing of the convent, and the photograph fig. 1 also shows the remains of the oblique Roman building protruding from the structure of the apse at the base. From its base up to the overhanging ledge, the wall of the apse was built against the pre-existing brick face of the Roman building, and the concrete core of the apse structure was therefore left unfaced by brickwork. The coursing lines of the oblique building can still be seen impressed on the concrete. Above the ledge, the core of the apse wall and that of the added upper story were built simultaneously; because of the later demolition of the upper story, this part of the apse wall has a ragged, cut face.



Fig. 7. SS. Quattro Coronati. Apse, exterior

b. Footings of the apse wall

To the left (north) of the oblique Roman building the apse wall rests—9 m. below the present nave floor level—on a concrete footing, 0.40 m. thick, beneath which we see the remains of three earlier buildings (pl. II, c): (*a*), a brick wall running east-west, is briefly seen as it emerges from the apse foundations and is there cut off vertically (the pavement and a mosaic pavement associated with it lie 1 m. below the upper surface of the apse footing concrete); this wall overlaps (*b*), a fragment of reticulate masonry having the same orientation as the oblique Roman building; like wall (*a*), it is sliced off in the vertical plan of the apse foundations; and finally (*c*) is a heavy plank-faced concrete foundation wall which forms a re-entrant angle beneath the junction of the apse and the west wall of the north aisle. This last feature was probably a preliminary stage in the construction of the apse, designed to contain the earlier reticulate and brick walls and to provide a terrace on which was set out the 0.40 m. concrete bed of the cylindrical superstructure.

c. The lower zone of the cylinder

This zone is 9 m. high, rising from the concrete footings and terminating at a narrow ledge (pl. II, c; fig. 7) approximately at the level of the church floor [1]. The brickwork seems to belong to the late third or early fourth century. The courses are smooth-faced, horizontal and neatly pointed; ten courses average 0.62 m. in height—a modulus slightly over five courses per Roman foot; and in some places the mortar is pointed with a convex, double-faceted trowel stroke, such as that noted

[1] Venanzi, *op. cit.*, p. 255 f., was first to notice the survival in the apse wall of these early elements and to attribute the bottom courses of the entire apse as well as the south half of its upper wall (below the present church level) to the fourth or the early years of the fifth century.

in fourth century brickwork at the Lateran [1], S. Maria in Cosmedin [2], and S. Pietro in Vincoli [3]. The lowest brick course, immediately above the concrete footing, consists of whole bipedals; another course of bipedals occurs 3.70 m. above. Bipedal courses become increasingly rare after the Constantinian age. The factors noted leave little doubt that the lower zone of the apse is not later than the fourth century.

d. Brickwork above the setback in the south half of the apse

Above the setback the apse wall is divided into two halves by a rough, nearly vertical fissure approximately on the axis of the church (fig. 7). To the right, the fourth century masonry noted in the preceding paragraph continues upward for a further six meters to the level of the present window sill; its identity with the zone below is shown by the close resemblance of the masonry, by similarly sized and spaced scaffold holes and, about half way up, by another course of bipedals. A small oblong panel, framed in brickwork at the summit of this zone, appears to belong to the same period of building; it may have enclosed a marble plaque, but the position is too high for an inscription and we are at a loss to explain this feature. To the right of the fissure, the zone of the fourth century brickwork adjoins the areas of unfaced concrete core which were left when the antecedent oblique Roman building, discussed above, was demolished.

e. Carolingian brickwork in the south part of the apse

Above the unfaced concrete, and extending across the fourth century brickwork described above, the right (or south) part of the apse wall displays the undulant coursing, fragmentary bricks, small circular scaffold holes and occasional use of a marble fragment in place of a brick, which are familiar characteristics of Carolingian building in Rome. This part of the apse wall, about 3,5 m. high, rises almost to the level of the eaves of the adjacent convent wing.

f. The north half of the apse

The entire left (or north) half of the apse, from the setback at floor level up to what is left of the cornice, consists of accurately laid and uniform brickwork, barely distinguishable from the fourth century lower zone except for its larger and slightly more frequent scaffold holes. We know that this cannot belong to the fourth century phase of construction because at the top, above the center window of the apse, the same brickwork extends to the right and oversails the Carolingian zone (pl. II, c; fig. 7). Moreover, the two-ringed brick arch above the sixteenth century middle window is certainly earlier than the window itself and presumably is contemporary with the north half of the apse. Its right abutment rests on the Carolingian brickwork, showing that the north half of the apse is later than the Carolingian part to the south; the accurate quality of the brickwork leaves no doubt that it is Romanesque. At the top, the Romanesque brickwork extends through both halves of the apse and includes the remains of a cornice which is formed of reused ancient marble brackets.

g. Later work

In the last category we group all subsequent work on the apse: the low drum which was added (probably in the sixteenth century) when the upper part of the Romanesque cornice was destroyed

[1] See below, p. 20, n. 1.
[2] See above, Vol. II, p. 287 f.
[3] See above, Vol. III, p. 195.

and the roof was elevated; the rectangular sixteenth century windows; finally, the rectangular crypt window, with its reused Roman transenna. The latter opening might belong to an earlier stage, but there can be no proof of this since all surrounding brickwork has been renewed and displays no datable characteristics.

2. Northwest Substructures and Exterior of the North Aisle

The wall which extends north from the left shoulder of the apse, constituting the west end wall of the north aisle, has three vertical divisions (pls. I; II, c; fig. 1). To the right, adjoining the apse, two of the types of masonry noted above in the cylinder (zones c and f) continue without a break—the fourth century brickwork in the substructure and the Romanesque brickwork above floor level (fig. 7, left edge). The adjoining narrow plaster-faced vertical zone contains three rectangular windows (fig. 1) which illuminate respectively a basement room beneath the north aisle of the early church, the aisle itself, and a chamber which was built above the former aisle roof at comparatively late date. To the left of the aisle window is the northwest corner of the aisle and, below it, the massive buttressed substructure on which the aisle rests; in both, the brickwork is homogeneous—the bricks are large and little worn though evidently spoils from Roman buildings, while the undulating courses and the small round scaffold holes are typical of the Carolingian period. The proportion of mortar to brick gives a modulus of exactly five courses per Roman foot. Near the base of the substructure buttress is a blocked doorway, 1.85 m. wide, spanned by a shallow arch of nearly vertical bipedals. Since the substructure below the aisle floor was filled in with earth over most of its area [1], we presume that this doorway led to a small chamber or perhaps to a staircase below the western extremity of the aisle.

The corner buttress measures 5.30 m. by 3.50 m. in plan at its base; it projects west 2.30 m. and north 1.85 m. from the general wall face of the terrace. Its north face, and that of the adjacent 10 m. high substructure walls, are visible from a narrow yard which lies between the church and an adjacent building. At the bottom, the Carolingian brickwork rests on a block of concrete (pl. II, b; fig. 8), and at the extreme northwest corner it incorporates a few courses of a brick wall, 0.44 m. thick. Both belong to an antecedent construction, probably of the third or fourth century. Continuing eastward from the corner buttress, the Carolingian terrace wall is seen over a span of 16 m. (pl. II. b) standing almost in the same plane as the aisle wall above it; indeed, the latter is set back only 0.35 m. from the top of the terrace wall. After a distance of 16 m., the terrace wall turns north to contain an additional platform, excrescent from the side of the basilica, which will be described below. The 16 m. length of terrace wall between the corner buttress and the excrescent platform is founded partly on Servian blocks, reused in Carolingian times [2], and partly on the remains of antecedent Roman buildings (fig. 8). About 5 m. west of the excrescent platform we find the remains of a Roman bath tank with a mosaic pavement next to it, embedded in the foundations and sliced off in the vertical plane of the wall face (pl. II, b). To help spread the weight of the walls across the antecedent material, the Carolingian bricklayers inserted four shallow bipedal relieving arches, apparently to concentrate the weight of the brickwork on points of known strength (fig. 9). The terrace wall is further reinforced by a strong intermediate buttress, 1.27 m. thick and projecting 2.30 m. from the wall face at a distance of 5.80 m. from the corner buttress; it rests on a massive lump of concrete retained from the antecedent buildings. The buttress rises verti-

[1] See below, p. 22.
[2] See below, p. 14.

cally for the full height of the terrace in brickwork which is evidently Carolingian and above the level of the church floor it continues upward in a tapering form to strengthen the wall of the aisle. However, the tapering part above floor level is a later addition, and the buttress must originally have terminated at the level of the church floor. Indeed, while primarily designed to strengthen the


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 8. SS. Quattro Coronati. Base of northwest corner buttress seen from east


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 9. SS. Quattro Coronati. Substructure of north aisle and intermediate buttress

terrace, the lower portion of the buttress had the secondary role of supporting the wall of a small apse that protruded from the aisle wall. Stone brackets built into the corners between the buttress and the terrace wall carried the lateral shoulders of this small apse; the bracket on the east side has broken off, but the west one is intact [1] (fig. 9, upper left; 10a, b). Rough slabs of marble span the intervals between terrace wall, bracket, and buttress; above the right hand slab, four courses of the aisle brickwork follow the curved line indicated by the slabs and brackets.

Above a horizontal setback which corresponds approximately with the church floor, the Carolingian brickwork of the aisle wall survives almost to the level where the roof must have rested before the present upper story was added. However, the position of original openings, if any existed, can no longer be determined due to the fact that modern and medieval windows interrupt the continuity of the brickwork (pl. II, b). About 7 m. above the setback of the terrace, the present height of the Carolingian masonry is shown by a second ledge in the wall face; above it rises the upper chamber, added much later.

At a distance of 16 m. from the northwest corner buttress, the terrace substructures of the north aisle turn at right angles to include a northern extension of the church terrace. This supplementary

[1] See an anonymous drawing of ca. 1550, cited above, p. 2; see also Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

platform apparently was originally some 30 m. long from east to west and 10 m. wide from north to south, but little of the Carolingian structure can be seen today because the terrace and its buildings have been much extended and enlarged; indeed, the greater part of the picturesque, fortress-like superstructure which exists today dates from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. However, inside the convent cellars the northeast corner and the east wall of the original terrace are distinctly seen (they appear in red on pl. I); their Carolingian date is demonstrated by the reused



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 10a. SS. Quattro Coronati. Roman bracket and remains of north exedra



(Codex Coner, f. 19v)

Fig. 10b. SS. Quattro Coronati. Anonymous drawing of a corbel, 1515-1520

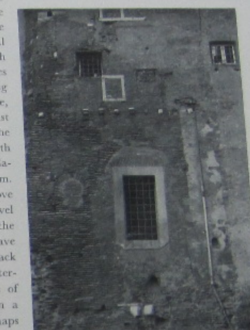
Servian block masonry of the lowest courses. In the early seventeenth century, similar blocks were visible on the exterior of the north wall of the terrace, as in Alò Giovannoli's engraving of 1616 [1].

On the other hand, the surviving portion of the original west wall of the north terrace is built in brickwork which has the Carolingian characteristics already noted in the wall and substructures of the north aisle. Starting from its junction with the north aisle wall the Carolingian brickwork extends north, not quite at right angles with the church, for about 7 m., after which the original fabric breaks off in a ragged serpentine profile and is continued northward in brickwork of a later period. The broken end of the Carolingian brickwork was observed by Alò Giovannoli. The summit of the Carolingian structure is marked by a row of marble corbels, presumably part of a cornice (fig. 11). Two stories with white marble window frames above the corbels are possibly of fifteenth century date. Below the cornice, on each side of an oblong sixteenth century window, there are traces of two small round openings about 0.80 m. in diameter, which were evidently built with

[1] Cited above, p. 2.

the wall. Lower down, approximately at the level of the church floor, two large lumps of white marble which protrude from the wall face are probably the remains of an overhanging latrine.

Following the terrace substructures first to the north and then to the east, we pass various excrescences which were added in later periods; finally, turning south we come once more to a Carolingian wall, which stands nearly parallel with the north wall of the north aisle, but some distance to the east (pl. I). The six courses of Servian blocks at the base, noted by Giovannoli, are the retaining wall of the terrace on which the east part of the church stands. Above, Carolingian brickwork continues upward for seven or eight meters, the summit being hidden by plaster revetment. This, as we shall see, is evidently the north side of an atrium at the east end of the early basilica. In the higher part of the wall, about one meter above a barred sixteenth century window, an arch of bipedals, evidently Carolingian, spans what was once an opening 2.25 m. wide (D on fig. 6) with its apex about 4 m. above the general level of the platform. At a lower level two openings cut through the Servian blocks of the terrace wall lead into vaulted chambers that have been hollowed out of the substructure. At the back of one of these chambers, 9.5 m. south of the terrace façade, the north face of the foundations of the gate tower is exposed; part of it rests on a Roman building of neatly laid brickwork, perhaps dating from the second century, while the rest is founded upon the usual Carolingian Servian blocks.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 11. SS. Quattro Coronati. Building to the north of north aisle; west wall showing Carolingian corbels

3. Gate Tower and outer (or first) Court

The gate tower (figs. 2,12; A on fig. 6) stands on the center line of the complex. The distance from its east wall to the extremity of the apse is 90 m. but the total length of the complex must originally have been somewhat greater, since the Carolingian north wall, as noted in the preceding paragraph, projects east to embrace the two-storied building which now masks the lower part of the tower on the east side. The front of this building appears to date from the seventeenth century; but, since its north end wall is Carolingian, the present façade must replace, or perhaps merely hides, a Carolingian west front. A gateway 2.45 m. wide opens into a covered passage which passes first through the eastern building and then through the base of the tower to emerge in the first court (fig. 12). In plan the tower measures 7.60 m. square, and it is 21 m. high from the ground to the eaves. At the base the walls are nearly two meters thick, but they taper slightly as they rise. We have already noted its foundations on the north side, consisting partly of reused Roman wall and partly of Servian blocks; the footings of the other sides are not accessible. In the upper part of the building the brickwork of the north, east and west walls is undulant and the courses tend to die out in the Carolingian manner. Only in the south wall of the tower, near the top, do

we find the middle part constructed of mixed *tufelli* and brickwork, evidently a later repair. Near the summit, each side (except the rebuilt south side) is pierced by an arcade of four arches which is supported by sturdy brick angle piers at the corners and, between these, by molded white marble pillars of rectangular plan; these pillars stand on marble pedestal slabs and bear tapered pulvins to accomodate the thickness of the brick arches. The arches are made with bipedals set at a very



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 12. SS. Quattro Coronati. Outer court, looking toward gateway tower



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 13. SS. Quattro Coronati. Outer court, westernmost arch of north arcade

steep angle, reinforced by segmental outer arches of shorter bricks. The top of the tower is decorated with a simple cornice of white marble brackets supporting three overhanging courses of plain bricks, above which rises a tiled roof. Apart from a few repairs, the brickwork of the tower is uniform and integral throughout its height and the whole structure, including the arcading, unquestionably dates from the Carolingian period[1].

The passage emerging from the tower into the outer court is spanned by a low pointed arch, presumably of the fifteenth century (fig. 12); a nearby marble plaque records restorations under Cardinal Alfonso Carillo in the pontificate of Martin V (1417-1431)[2]. Nevertheless, the arch must be a modification of an earlier opening, for there can be no doubt that the tower always surmounted a gateway. The space between the north side of the gate tower and the north wall of the church complex is defined by parallel walls which continue north the east and west sides of the tower.

[1] See below, p. 34, n. 3.

[2] See above, dig. 1417-1431.

Both walls are renewed but their immense thickness, 1.20 m. and 1.40 m. respectively, shows that they are ancient. A corresponding structure is likely to exist to the south of the tower but unfortunately this part of the complex cannot be examined at present[1]. The wall which divides the first from the second court (that is, the façade of the larger, Carolingian basilica) stands slightly over 25 m. west of the tower's west wall. Since the distance from the center line of the tower to the north wall is about 12.5 m., the north wall, the west side of the tower and the façade of the early basilica define three sides of a nearly square area which is now the outer court; there can be little doubt that it was originally an atrium. The quadriporticus which presumably stood inside the perimeter wall has almost entirely disappeared, but the arcaded porticoes dating from 1632 which enclose the north and west sides of the court (fig. 13) probably stand on the foundations of the original colonnades. One fragment of the original quadriporticus arcading may be recognizable. The western arch of the present north arcade is blind, merely continuing the row of seventeenth century arches across the place where the late medieval Chapel of Saint Sylvester now encroaches into the area of the court. Part of the Baroque plaster revetment has been removed to reveal the brickwork of the chapel wall (fig. 13). The brickwork is clearly divided into two parts: the right part is medieval and presumably dates from the construction of the chapel; the left part is earlier and may denote the south face of the Carolingian atrium corner pier (E in fig. 6). The brick face has been adzed and its character is lost, but the irregular setting of the bricks is in keeping with Carolingian technique. The vertical joint between the two walls would thus indicate the edge of the east tongue of the northwest corner pier of the Carolingian quadriporticus. On this basis we can not only reconstruct the corner pier but perhaps also suggest, tentatively, that the quadriporticus probably had five arcades in each side.

Beneath the pavement of the outer court, a large vaulted cistern, apparently of second century Roman construction, traverses the area from north to south at a depth of 7 m. Apparently the builders of the Carolingian atrium included it in their terraced substructure. It does not influence the layout of the church and is omitted from our survey.

4. The Inner Court (East Part of the Former Nave)

The east wall of the Carolingian nave survives, for about two-thirds of its original height, as the wall now separating the inner and outer courtyards. Its exterior (east) face is plastered over and cannot be studied, but part of the brickwork of its west face is visible (fig. 3). A wide ground-level opening with a Baroque frame at the center of the wall, probably inserted in 1632 like the portico in front of it, apparently replaces the Carolingian main doorway. To right and left, narrower doorways were cut through the original wall and were subsequently blocked up. This closure can be no later than 1588, the date at which a fresco was painted over the east side of one of the secondary openings. In those parts of the wall which are free of plaster the characteristic undulating Carolingian brickwork is seen.

In the northeast corner of the inner court, the Carolingian brickwork forms a brick pier at the eastern extremity of the former arcaded north nave colonnade (pl. II, a; figs. 3, 14a). Opposite, a rectangular excrescence in the southeast corner of the courtyard represents the corresponding end pier of the Carolingian south colonnade (figs. 14b, 15, 16). A fragment of marble architrave projects

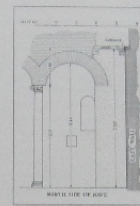
[1] The inside of the tower and the building which form the southeast corner of the outer court are occupied by a hospital for deaf-mutes to which we have not been able to obtain access.

1.20 m. from the west face of this pier, embedded in a wall of undetermined date which now forms the south side of the courtyard in place of a south nave colonnade. The placing of this architrave, 5.10 m. above floor level, nearly corresponds with the imposts of the arcade on the north side of the nave, which are 5.22 m. above floor level. The fragment is of Proconnesian marble and has triple fasciae with cymation moldings; the upper moldings have perished and the whole block has been severely damaged by fire. The fragment shows that the nave of the Carolingian church was flanked by trabeated colonnades. A similar architrave presumably existed originally in the corresponding place on the north side of the nave (figs. 3, 14a); the Romanesque archivolt at this point has clearly been inserted into the ninth century brickwork of the end pier, presumably after the removal of the old architrave.

At a height of 1.30 m. above the south architrave fragment, a heavy marble cornice composed of sculptured pieces culled from classical buildings is embedded in the Carolingian masonry of the end piers and east wall (figs. 14b, 15, 16, 17). One such cornice slab, *in situ* in the east wall, matches two others founds by Muñoz in the church floor and now displayed on the cloister wall; they are decorated with square coffered panels alternating with Roman Doric mutules. The adjacent slab in the surviving fragment of the Carolingian north wall has a larger, foliate panel and rests on projecting consoles sculptured with acanthus foliage (figs. 3, 14a. This cornice projects about 0.65 m. from the wall face. In our reconstruction (fig. 17) we presume that the sides of the nave were decorated with a broad cornice resting on brackets while the narrower Doric slabs, without separate consoles, were reserved for the east end wall. The stump of a bracket and part of another cornice slab are seen on the south side of the nave, above the remains of the architrave block (figs. 14b, 16); all these marble elements have been seriously calcined by fire. We deduce from these data that the nave walls of the Carolingian edifice were embellished with marble architraves and with marble cornices which were separated from the architraves by high friezes. The latter may have been decorated with paintings, but this is quite conjectural.

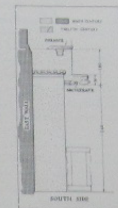
On the other hand, the arcades which now exist on the north side of the courtyard certainly do not belong to the ninth century phase of construction. The arches rest on miscellaneous shafts with Ionic capitals, two of them obviously of Romanesque workmanship (fig. 3). The brickwork of the arcades is too regular and the voussoir bricks are set too radially for Carolingian work. Moreover, inside the convent and church, where wall surfaces are protected, we find that the reverse face of these arches is finished with the *falsa cortina* pointing which, in Rome, usually denotes masonry of the twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Hence it appears that, after being seriously damaged by fire, the Carolingian church was reconstructed in the high Middle Ages on the old plan, but with arcades in place of the former marble architraves. The columns and arcades on the north side of the inner court, together with the clerestorey walls which they support, are therefore Romanesque. On the south side of the court, on the other hand, no trace of a Romanesque arcade is found; moreover, the projecting fragment of architrave left *in situ* suggests that no arcade was ever built in place of the trabeated colonnade. The reason for this is not clear; but it seems that the east part of the south colonnade may have remained incomplete in the first Romanesque rebuilding. As with the arcaded colonnade on the north side of the inner court, the wall of the convent which rises above it also appears to be Romanesque; nearly 5 m. above the apex of the arcades and only a few centimeters below the eaves of the convent roof, there are traces of former clerestorey windows (pl. IIa). The brick walls which seal the colonnade are Romanesque work of later date. A *terminus ante quem* for the sealing of the easternmost arch and presumably also of the other arches is provided by the frescoes of the Chapel of Saint Sylvester, which are applied to the reverse face of this wall and are dated 1246.

A cellar (perhaps originally a cistern) beneath the western part of the inner court contains some



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 14*a*. SS. Quattro Coronati. Inner court, northeast end pier of Carolingian nave



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 14*b*. SS. Quattro Coronati. Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave

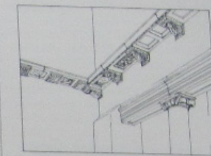

(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 17. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstruction of Carolingian nave cornice


(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 15. SS. Quattro Coronati. Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave


(Photo: Corbett)

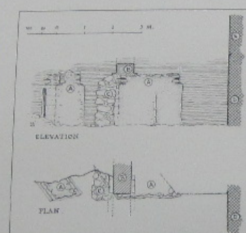
Fig. 16. SS. Quattro Coronati. Inner court, southeast corner showing remains of classical cornice embedded in Carolingian masonry

important features. It is a vaulted chamber 6.50 m. wide and 14 m. long from north to south, covered by a crudely cast concrete barrel vault, the apex of which lies only 0.60 m. beneath the courtyard pavement. Its north end wall (pl. I; B on fig. 6) constitutes the stylobate of the columns which are now embedded in the north wall of the inner court. The brickwork in the upper part of this stylobate (fig. 18) is identical with the fine fourth century brickwork noted in the lower part of the apse (fig. 7). The modulus is the same; the horizontal mortar beds are smoothly pointed, slightly recessed, and sometimes struck off with doublefaceted convex trowel strokes; and, as in the apse, a course of bipedals forms the base of the brickwork, 1.25 m. below the courtyard pavement. Below the course of bipedals the brick wall rests on a well-faced foundation wall consisting



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 18. SS. Quattro Coronati. North colonnade stylobate, view from southwest cellar beneath inner court



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 19. SS. Quattro Coronati. West side of cellar beneath inner court, antecedent walls

of large lumps of peperino set in hard concrete and the brickwork as well as this masonry resemble the Constantinian walls and foundation walls of the Lateran basilica [1]. Toward the east part of the cellar this stylobate is interrupted by a later opening (subsequently filled in with much poorer brickwork); below this opening the peperino foundation wall encounters the remains of an earlier structure of *opus listatum*.

In the west wall of the cellar, beneath the springing of the concrete vault, we find two strata of antecedent buildings that are cut back to the plane of the cellar wall and therefore appear in cross section (fig. 19). The lower stratum comprises two parallel walls of *opus listatum* (A-A) running diagonally across the plan of the church; their concrete foundations, 1.50 m. deep, were cast between boarded shuttering. The upper stratum is a brick wall (B), parallel with the church plan and built with very red bricks in a modulus of five courses per Roman foot (fig. 18, left edge). It is 0.60 m. thick and has at its base a single footing course of large bricks which project 0.15 m. on each side; beneath that is a rough concrete foundation wall (C) consisting of lumps of tufa set in

[1] *Josi-Krautheimer-Corbett*, "Note Lateranensi, I", *R.A.C.* 33 (1957) 79 ff.; *Krautheimer-Corbett*, "S. Giovanni in Laterano", *ibid.* 43 (1967; *Miscellanea Josi* II), p. 125 ff., esp. p. 128 and fig. 2.

mortar. These walls were superceded by the fourth century wall (D-E) at the north end of the cellar. Nevertheless, wall B is important to us because its structure is exactly the same as, and is presumably contemporary with, the wall constituting the south end of the cellar. This wall is parallel with B, is built with the same brickwork, and has the same type of foundations at the same level. We do not know its thickness. It stands almost in the line of the Carolingian south nave colonnade (as shown by the marble lintel fragment) and it must have been either incorporated into, or reused as, the colonnade stylobate. The correspondence between wall B and the fourth century north stylobate suggests that the wall which closes the south end of the cellar is older than the north wall.

5. The North Aisle and Convent Buildings

A small doorway in the northwest corner of the inner court, below the sixteenth century portico, gives access to a large chamber which was originally the west half of the north aisle and more recently served as the convent refectory (pl. I; fig. 6). Its south wall (fig. 20) encloses columns of the former Romanesque nave colonnade which are aligned with the columns on the north side of the inner court. As in the court, they are a mixed collection of bases, shafts and Ionic capitals, some medieval, others classical. Immediately to the left of the doorway rises a brick pier, cruciform and measuring 1.87 m. in width and 1.50 m. in thickness (fig. 20, left edge). Flanked on each side by six columns and seven arches, the pier stands in the middle of the original colonnade, halfway between the former façade and the apse. The brickwork of the pier is pointed with Romanesque *falsa cortina;* the same type of finish is seen in some of the blocking walls which seal up the arcades to create the north wall of the present church, especially in the transept. Hence it is evi-



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 20. SS. Quattro Coronati. South side of former north aisle

dent that the arcaded colonnade on the north side of the former, longer nave is itself a Romanesque structure, although modified later in the Romanesque period to create the present, smaller church.

The clerestorey windows of the first Romanesque basilica exist intact in the west half of the church, visible on the interior (pl. II, a), but concealed on the exterior by the late superstructure above the north aisle. At a distance of 4.80 m. above the summit of each arch of the early Romanesque nave arcade, a round-headed window, 1.10 m. wide and 2.20 m. from sill to apex, opens in the clerestorey wall. The cruciform pier at the center of the nave colonnade rises through the clerestorey and must be an original feature of the early Romanesque design. The eaves of the first Romanesque nave lay about 17 m. above the floor, and the summit of the clerestorey wall was decorated with a cornice of marble modillions and saw-tooth brickwork. These walls still exist to their full height in the part of the church which is now the transept; but to the east, where the aisles and galleries of the second Romanesque church stand, the walls have been cut down to a lower level (fig. 5).

The stylobate on which the early Romanesque nave colonnade stands is a continuation of the fourth century wall seen in the cellar below the inner court, with a certain amount of later masonry in its higher parts. The rubble which formerly filled the artificial terrace of the north aisle [1] was removed in 1962 to reduce lateral pressure on the substructure. Thus the north flank of the nave colonnade stylobate has been exposed; it has the same characteristics as the wall in the cellar (fig. 18). Below the church floor level the wall is 1.50 m. thick. At the west end of the aisle, the fourth century masonry turns north for 1.58 m. (C on fig. 6), before being cut off in a vertical plane. The cutting of the brickwork shows that it originally continued further north. The west face of this spur of fourth century masonry has already been noted in describing the exterior [2] and was seen to be homogeneous with the apse (pl. II, c). We are thus confronted with a continuous structure of fourth century masonry extending from the cellar of the inner court at the east end to the apse at its western extremity, while a short spur of the same structure projects northward from the shoulder of the apse. As this hook-shaped wall lies diagonally across the contours of the Coelian escarpment (fig. 1), the concrete foundations seen in the inner court cellar are at a higher level than those of the north spur. In the straight part of the structure the summit of the surviving fourth century masonry corresponds with the church floor level. In the apse, on the other hand, the remains of the fourth century structure rise almost to the level of the present apse windows.

The north wall of the north aisle is Carolingian, as already noted in discussing the exterior. The substructure can be seen internally below floor level in the cellar which was created in 1962 by the removal of part of the terrace filling. The wall is 1.50 m. thick and is composed of large-sized bricks supplemented with fragments of marble. These marble fragments include a piece of a transenna post which is datable on the basis of the style of carving to the sixth or seventh century, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the building of the wall. At this level the coursing modulus is a little less than was measured at the base of the terrace [3], the height of five courses here being 0.29 m. As is usually the case in Carolingian masonry, the courses undulate and the wall face wavers in plan and in vertical section. Parts of an early tessellated pavement came to light in the west half of the north aisle while the substructures were being excavated, and were consolidated and preserved. The pavement is composed of a number of square panels of tessellation outlined by bands of small marble slabs (fig. 21). The tesserae, very large and coarse, form crude

[1] See above, p. 12.
[2] See above, *ibid.*
[3] See above, *ibid.*

rosettes, squares with looped sides, basket patterns and coarse *opus sectile* honeycombs; they are executed in green and red porphyry with other scraps of colored marble [1]. Since this pavement lies on a platform whose walls are almost certainly Carolingian, it can hardly be earlier than the Carolingian period itself, although the same type of pavement has been identified several times in sixth century buildings [2].

Above floor level the north aisle wall is 1.10 m. thick. Much of its original structure was removed to provide windows, presumably at the time of conversion into a refectory after separation from the church, but the main outline of the Carolingian fabric survives. A vertical perpend



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 21. SS. Quattro Coronati. Pavement in western half of north aisle



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 22. SS. Quattro Coronati. Southeast corner of chamber ("vestry") off north aisle

in the brickwork, 9.20 m. from the northwest corner of the aisle wall, denotes the right edge of the small apsed exedra which was noted on the outside at the summit of the intermediate buttress [3]. The exedra thus had walls about 1 m. thick and an internal diameter of 2.80 m. (pl. I). At a distance of 19.90 m. from the northwest corner, the aisle wall is pierced by a doorway 1.40 m. wide and 2.90 m. high and spanned by a horizontal brick arch, which gives access to the wing of the convent on the north side of the basilica. The outside face of the west wall of this wing has already been discussed [4]; at the level of the church floor the wall is 1.10 m. thick. The two small round windows and the corbels for an overhanging latrine, seen on the exterior (fig. 11), cannot be traced on the inner wall face. Another Carolingian wall stands 4.70 m. further east, parallel with the first and therefore not quite at right angles to the aisle wall; it contains the remains of a small niche 1.50 m. wide (fig. 22). These features suggest that the chamber was originally intended as some sort of vestry linking the basilica to the northern building, which probably housed, as it does now, the religious community which served the church. But the arrangement was soon modified when a barrel vault, built in characteristic Carolingian brickwork, was inserted at the south end of the chamber, blocking up one of the round windows. Above the vault rises a

[1] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ff.
[2] But see also below, p. 28 f.
[3] See above, p. 13.
[4] See above, p. 14.

low semicircular wall, partly constructed with bricks set on end, and supported at the two corners of the rectilinear chamber on marble squinches made of reused fragments of cornice. The curved plan suggests that in its second form this chamber was domed, and this more formal character suggests that the chamber had possibly become a chapel.

The walls to the east of the domed chapel now form part of the convent; they are in clausura and we have been unable to examine the masonry. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish the main outline of the original plan in the general disposition of the walls (pl. I). The north wall of the Carolingian basilica continues east more or less in line with its west part until it reaches the plane of the original façade, 48 m. from the northwest corner. At this joint the northeast corner of the former basilica juts out from the south side of the medieval convent kitchen. The west wall of the kitchen is probably Romanesque. Its upper part as it emerges above the convent roofs is evidently Romanesque, and the fact that the same wall continues south, at floor level, to intersect the former north aisle and constitute the west wall of the Chapel of S. Silvestro, suggests that the whole medieval kitchen dates from the second Romanesque phase.

Beyond the northeast corner of the original basilica, the north wall of the atrium continues — set in, however, about 0.90 m. south of the aisle wall, and turned about 4° to the south (pl. I). The reason for the irregularity is uncertain, but is likely to be the precipitous terrain and the proximity of the Via Tusculana. Near the northeast corner of the atrium the modern Via dei SS. Quattro Coronati rises steeply in its ascent of the Coelian escarpment. Probably the ancient road took the same route and, being rock-hewn at the summit, was sufficiently immovable to occasion the irregularity in the Carolingian plan.

Part of the late Romanesque remodeling which reduced the church complex to its present form was the creation of the Chapel of Saint Sylvester. It occupies the northwest corner of the former atrium and extends into what was originally the east end of the north aisle (F on fig. 6). In building the chapel, the end wall of the aisle was removed but its former existence is demonstrated by the plan of the adjoining walls (pl. I); a marked obliquity in the north side of the chapel shows where the thirteenth century builders concealed the corner between the north wall of the atrium and that of the basilica by filling out the former and shaving back the latter. A thick wall parallel to both the west wall of the convent kitchen and the east wall of the Carolingian "vestry" and standing 7.20 m. east of the latter may also be Carolingian; its masonry has not been examined but it is at right angles to the north side of the terrace, which is certainly Carolingian [1].

6. Interior of the Present Church (West Part of the Former Nave) and Crypt

The present church of SS. Quattro Coronati occupies the west half of the earlier and larger Romanesque basilica (pls. I; II, a). It is divided from the east half (the inner court) by a wall 0.60 m. thick, preceded by a vaulted porch, apparently of sixteenth century date. The nave of the present basilica is flanked by four columns and five arches, with side aisles and galleries above (fig. 4). The gallery arcades are arranged in two groups of three openings separated by a pier which rises over the apex of the middle arch in the lower order (pl. II, a). Formerly, the arcading of the galleries continued across the east end of the present nave and opened into a gallery over the porch in the inner court. To the west, the nave terminates at a tall triumphal arch beyond which the transept occupies the whole breadth of the earlier nave. The apse, unchanged from the earlier plan, occupies almost

[1] See above, p. 14.

the full width of the transept. The arcades and colonnades of the west part of the earlier and larger church have survived, incorporated into the side walls of the present aisles and end walls of the transept (fig. 23). Near the northeast corner of the north aisle is preserved the inner face of the cruciform pier which marked the central point of the earlier colonnade [1]. Corresponding features of the south aisle remain, including the south cruciform pier and some of the columns from the western half of the early Romanesque south colonnade. However, as noted when describing the inner court, no trace is found of the eastern half of this colonnade.

Although the crypt was remodeled in the restoration of the 1620's, the excavations of 1912


(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 23. SS. Quattro Coronati. North transept of present church


(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 24 SS. Quattro Coronati. Carolingian crypt with niche for lamp

enabled Muñoz to reconstruct the Carolingian plan and to leave some of the Carolingian walls exposed [2]. At present, two seventeenth century stairways descend into the crypt (pl. I). They lie close to the north and south transept walls, and at the chord of the apse they curve to right and left, avoiding the apse shoulders. Here they enter the semicircular crypt passage which, as is usual, follows the interior of the apse wall. The floor of the passage is 2.5 m. below nave floor level but, because of the steeply descending terrain and the great height of the apse substructure, it is, of course, high above the level of the ground outside. The crypt window (fig. 1), on the apse center line, opens about nine meters above ground. Just in front of this window, at the center of the curved passage, a straight corridor leads east to the confessio. Since the seventeenth century alterations, four urns containing the relics of the Four Coronati have stood in a vaulted chamber only 3 m. east of the junction of the passages, and thus within the semicircular area of the apse. But in the original arrangement the central passage was longer, leading to a compartment, about 3 m. square, east of the apse chord. This chamber was discovered in 1912 and is still accessible through a grating in the transept floor. The brick walls are evidently Carolingian, and the chamber has an

[1] See above, p. 21.
[2] Muñoz, *op. cit.*, "La cripta e la tribuna...," 1913, p. 197 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 47 f., pl. 4.



(Photo: Cordelli)

Fig. 25. SS. Quattro Coronati. South aisle wall, exterior



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 27. SS. Quattro Coronati. South chapel, interior

unusual pavement made of horizontal column shafts[1]. To the north and south of this compartment, Muñoz also discovered the walls of the Carolingian stairways. Apparently the stairs began on a north-south axis and turned at right angles to enter the curved passage; the stairway walls, as usual, contain niches for lamps (fig. 24).

7. Cloisters and Convent (South Aisle of the former Church)



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 26. SS. Quattro Coronati. South chapel, exterior

A doorway in the south wall of the present church leads to the area in the cloisters which originally was part of the south aisle of the early basilica (pl. I). The thick wall between the northwest corner of the cloisters and the present sacristy is presumably the west end wall of the former aisle. The side wall of the aisle has been removed to make way for the cloisters and garden, but Muñoz located the foundations and built a ledge of modern brickwork in the east walk of the cloisters to demonstrate their position. East of the cloisters, the south aisle wall (fig. 25) is still intact for the full length of the nave; it is over 1 m. thick and now flanks a chamber of the convent which lies along the south side of the inner court. The brickwork is typically Carolingian, with reused Roman bricks, undulating courses and thin mortar beds. The bricks are sharp edged and very likely were taken from some nearby Roman construction, possibly the aqueduct of Nero. A perpendicular joint in the brickwork defines the southeast corner of the original aisle, but this is seen only at a height of 5 m. above ground because the lower courses are lost in a modern opening. A wall of the same thickness which continues east in the same direction is assumed to be the south side of the Carolingian atrium, but unfortunately we have had no opportunity to study this part of the complex[1].

[1] Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 1914, pl. VI; perhaps this was done to discourage robbers who, in this case, might have found it easy to attack the confessio from below, since it lies high above ground.

A small cross-vaulted chapel with three apses projects from the south side of the church near the middle of the aisle wall. It too is securely dated to the Carolingian period by its characteristic brickwork (fig. 26). The plan is approximately square, each wall measuring about 5.5 m. internally. The three excrescent walls are 0.90 m. thick, while the fourth side is integral with the wall of the aisle. The concrete cross vault rests on four sculptured marble entablature blocks (fig. 27), and it is probable that corner columns were originally placed beneath them; resemblance to the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede is obvious[2]. The original entrance to the chapel from the south aisle is a rectangular doorway, formerly only 1.25 m. wide but subsequently enlarged. The original width of the opening can be deduced from the span of its flat brick arch; this also shows that the original doorway was not on the axis of the chapel but somewhat to the west of the center line. Each of the other three walls has a central semicircular niche; the niche opposite the doorway is 1.90 m. wide, those in the east and west walls measure 1.50 m. and 1.30 m. respectively. A modern doorway has been cut through the back of the western niche. The chapel was illuminated by rectangular windows with pierced marble transennae above each niche. The walls and vaults are decorated with the remains of frescoes, mostly of the thirteenth century; but traces of ninth century paintings show underneath. The chapel lies exactly opposite the domed chapel which opens off the north aisle[3] (pl. I).

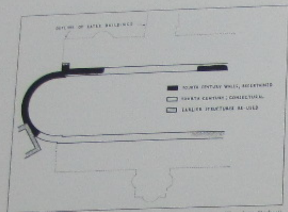
F. RECONSTRUCTION

1. The Fourth Century Building

The layout of the buildings succeeding each other on the site of the church and convent of SS. Quattro Coronati was little influenced, if at all, by the classical remains found near and below the present buildings. The Roman streets, the houses, the baths near the apse and at the foot of the north wall, and finally, the remains of *listatum* walls in the cellar below the inner court, are all oblique to the axis of the present church and its predecessors (pl. I).

The site's first important building within the scope of our study was the structure identified in the south quadrant of the apse and in the foundation wall which continues throughout the length of the Carolingian north colonnade and turns into the north wall of the inner courtyard cellar. This structure consisted of a single nave, about 48 R. ft. wide internally, terminated by a large

[1] See note 1, p. 17.
[2] See above, Vol. III, p. 252 ff.
[3] See above, p. 23.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 28. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstructed plan of original apsed building

apse (fig. 28). The southern quadrant of this apse touched the corner of an obliquely oriented rectangular building. The length of the nave is uncertain. Since the extant foundations of the north wall are over 120 R. ft. long, the hall — although recalling the Basilica of Junius Bassus (S. Andrea in Catabarbara) — was very different in proportion; for, while the latter had nearly the same width as the hall at Quattro Coronati, its inner length was little more than about 60 or, with the narthex, 80 R. ft[1]. Even if the building at Quattro Coronati was provided with a similar narthex in its eastern part, the hall itself must have had proportions considerably longer than the Bassus basilica. The floor level of the hall is presumably represented by the division, 1.25 m. below the present nave floor, between the foundation and the rising walls. As the original summit of the apse is lost, we are unable to estimate the height of the hall. The absence of intermediate strata, between the remains of the Roman bath on the north side of the nave and the Carolingian terrace walls which rise above them, proves that the first building had no side aisles. The stump of an integral wall projecting north from the shoulder of the apse must therefore be interpreted as a buttress — a necessary feature in a building which stood so close to the edge of the escarpment.

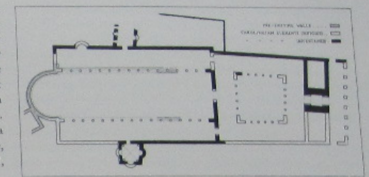
2. A Sixth or Seventh Century Construction

The pavement which survives in the north aisle of the first Romanesque church appears by its style to date from the sixth century or a little later (fig. 21). It seems to be one of a group of pavements of a make and design so similar as to suggest the activity of a single workshop. Examples of this group are the floor of the presbytery of S. Maria Antiqua, dated after 565; the pavements in the lower church of S. Clemente, 523 to 526; a floor seen by Vespignani in the east basilica of S. Lorenzo f. l. m., 579 to 590; and finally, the floor in the room to the right of the apse of S. Crisogono, after 500[2]. However, the example at SS. Quattro Coronati is almost the only evidence of building activity there in the sixth century or possibly slightly later. The pavement is flanked to the south by the foundation wall of the fourth century apsed hall which later carried the colonnade of the ninth century church; to the north stands the Carolingian aisle wall. If the pavement is not Carolingian, the only possible explanation for it would be to suppose that a contemporaneous foundation wall is hidden between the inner and outer faces of the Carolingian

[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 62; and LUGLI and ASHBY, "La Basilica di Giunio Basso sull'Esquilino", *R.A.C.* 9 (1932), p. 221 ff. Unfortunately the plan published in that paper has no scale and the measurements must be taken from the reconstruction drawings of apse and side wall. See, however, the revised plan in CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, "La datazione delle tarsie della Basilica di Giunio Basso", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.*, 40 (1967-68), p. 151 ff., and BECATTI, *Scavi di Ostia*, VI, Roma, 1969, p. 181 ff.

[2] See above Vol. I, pp. 130, 159; II, pp. 62 f., 263 ff.

substructure. The faces are undoubtedly Carolingian, but it is possible that they are only refacings of an older wall which, together with the wall of the apsed hall, might have bounded the room in which the pavement was laid. Whether this room was a closed side room or an aisle, opening into the apsed hall, remains an open question.

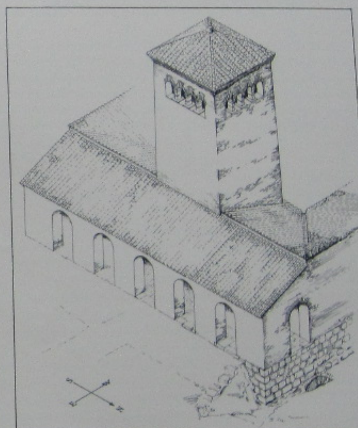


(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 29. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstructed plan of Carolingian basilica

3. The Carolingian Church

When the apsed hall was replaced by the first Carolingian basilica, the original apse was retained and possibly heightened, while the side walls of the hall were razed to the level where they could be used as stylobates for nave colonnades (fig. 29). The rapid fall of the terrain north of the right hand colonnade necessitated the construction of an immense terraced substructure for the north aisle. A simple basilica of three aisles, 160 R. ft. long and 100 R. ft. wide, was created. It was entered from the east through a single doorway on the center line; subsidiary doors may have opened into the aisles, but no trace of them is left. Nave and aisles were separated by colonnades and, while the number of columns is unknown, the donation by Leo IV of thirty-four veils[1] indicates that the nave colonnade had seventeen intercolumnations and thus sixteen columns. We know that the colonnades terminated at the east end with brick end piers and supported marble architraves.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 30. SS. Quattro Coronati. Suggested reconstruction, Carolingian gate tower and porch from northeast

[1] See above, dig. 847-855.

Above these, a heavy marble cornice surrounded the nave. Since the Carolingian brickwork in the apse still rises above the level of the seventeenth century windows, the Carolingian apse and nave were probably not much lower than those of the first Romanesque church and therefore more than 50 R. ft. high. Into the floor of the apse was inserted an annular crypt, its ring corridor following the curve of the apse wall. From the center of this corridor, a straight passage led to the relic chamber, a square room at the west end of the nave, where Leo IV placed the sarcophagi of the four martyrs to whom the church is dedicated. Above the high altar rose a curtained-off ciborium of silver [1]. In front of the altar the chancel was closed off by a pergola, a colonnade with parapets closing the intercolumniations [2], presumably a gift of Leo IV. Some of the *cancelli* have survived in the cloister [3]. To the east the basilica was preceded by an approximately square atrium surrounded by a quadriporticus, each portico having five arcades which rested on corner piers and, presumably, columns. The atrium was entered on the church axis through an eastern gateway. Above this rose a high, square tower which interrupted the east portico and culminated in an arcaded loggia. The continuation of the north side wall of the atrium beyond the east flank of the tower, and the archway in this piece of wall, suggest the possibility of an arcaded porch (fig. 30).

North of the basilica and atrium, the artificial terrace projected as an excrescence, 110 R. ft. long from east to west and 35 to 40 R. ft. wide. In the west part of this terrace survive the remains of a vestry; in a second period this was transformed into a domed chapel which communicated with the north aisle. In the west part of the north aisle, a buttress which strengthened the substructure was adapted to support a small apse projecting from the side of the aisle; this was probably another chapel. A third chapel still projects from the south aisle. They are probably the chapels of St. Barbara, Nicholas and Sixtus, mentioned under Leo IV [4].

4. The First Romanesque Church

The calcined remains of the Carolingian nave cornices show that this first basilica was destroyed by fire (figs. 15, 16). Apparently the colonnades and the clerestorey walls perished completely, together with the north quadrant of the apse wall. However, the outside walls of the aisles and the east wall survived, as did the vaulted building to the south and perhaps the residential northern building. The perimeter walls of the atrium and the gate tower remained untouched. We do not know if the atrium porticoes were affected. In due course the ruined church was restored using the remains of the earlier walls and thus conserving the outline of the plan (fig. 31). The north quadrant of the apse was rebuilt. Subsidiary doorways were cut in the façade wall of the nave, flanking the central opening. A new set of ancient columns was collected for the nave colonnades and provided with Ionic capitals, some classical, some Romanesque imitations. The level of the bases and hence the floor level was slightly lower than in the present smaller church. Instead of lintels, arches spanned the intercolumniations, but for some reason the old lintels survived in the east bays of the south colonnade [5]. At the center of each colonnade, the rhythm of the arcades was

[1] *L. P.*, II, p. 116.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120; for Leo's donations, see above, dig. 847-55.
[3] See Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 1914, figs. 58 ff.
[4] *L. P.*, II, p. 126.
[5] The reader will perceive that we disagree with the thesis propounded by Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ff., who supposes the arcaded basilica to be an early Christian structure.

interrupted by a cruciform pier dividing the nave into two halves of seven arches each. Clerestorey walls rose above the arcades to a height of 16.50 m. above the floor and a clerestorey window opened above each of the fourteen arches. Seven of these windows are still preserved in the west part of the structure, while the extraordinarily high wall which rose above them survives only in the area of the present transept (fig. 5).

The frescoes of Gregorius and Petrolinus have been attributed to this restoration [1], but the few remnants preserved on the face of the apse arch may equally well be of the thirteenth century [2]. The relic chamber of Leo IV was re-excavated, the relics found, and the chamber reinforced. A new high altar was erected and dedicated. All this was the work of Paschal II, as recorded in an inscription, formerly on the high altar [3].

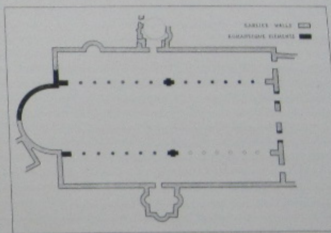


Fig. 31. SS. Quattro Coronati. Reconstruction of early Romanesque basilica

5. The Second Romanesque Church

In a second rebuilding the church was greatly reduced in size. The aisles of the first Romanesque basilica were abandoned, as was the east part of its nave (pls. I; II, a). Inside the west part of the former nave was inserted the existing church, comprising nave, transept, aisles and, apparently, galleries. The latter, however, may have been sham galleries whose only function was to reduce the span of the roof beams. S. Alessio e Bonifacio and S. Croce in Gerusalemme, as they were before the eighteenth century, offer close parallels [4]. Either at the time of the construction of the second Romanesque church or subsequently, the redundant parts of the former church were utilized: the east part of the south aisle was used for residential chambers, while the west portion was demolished to make way for a cloister. The east half of the former nave became an open courtyard inserted between the old atrium and the new nave. The former north aisle was walled off and most of it was added to the northern residential building. However, the easternmost bay of the north aisle was joined to the northwest corner of the former atrium by demolishing the aisle end wall, and the Chapel of St. Sylvester was thus created. North and east of this chapel and above its vault, the north wing of the residence was enlarged by the construction of the monastery kitchen and a great tower-like structure over it. Other annexes were added north and west of this north wing.

[1] See above, dig. 1099-1118.
[2] Muñoz, *op. cit.*, "Affreschi del XII secolo...", 1913, p. 278 f.
[3] See above, dig. 1099-1118.
[4] See above, Vol. I, pp. 40, 181.

6. Later Works

The subsequent changes to the church can be summarized briefly. The former atrium, that is, the first courtyard, was decorated with pilasters, probably in the sixteenth century. Inside the church the crypt was remodeled, the apse was redecorated and a new high altar was erected by Cardinal Millini between 1624 and 1630. Finally, the restorations directed by A. Muñoz in 1912 to 1914 returned the church to its thirteenth century aspect while at the same time uncovering the arcades of the eleventh century church.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The history of SS. Quattro Coronati is comparatively well documented from the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) onward, but its prior history is hard to unravel. The points in question concern the formation in Rome of a cult center of the Quattro Coronati and its location; the foundation of a titulus of that name; the chronological and topographical relations of that titulus to the "*titulus Aemilianae*"; and the establishment of either of these tituli in the buildings occupying the site of the present church and convent.

The cult of the martyrs was established in Rome by the middle of the fourth century. But nothing is certain regarding the identity of the Four Coronati or the origin and location of their cult center in or near the city. One *Passio*, possibly as early as the fourth century, presents them as sculptors who suffered martyrdom in Pannonia under Diocletian; a second *Passio* makes them soldiers who died for the faith in Rome [1]. The *Depositio Martyrum* in 354 lists on November 9 the festival and the names of the four "*in comitatum*" [2], a toponym which refers either to a region in Pannonia [3] or — as is the case with the majority of listings in that document — to some place in the Roman Campagna. Indeed, the guides of the seventh century note the burial place of the four martyrs in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana [4]. The indication of their festival in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* on November 8 "*ad Caelio monte*" compounds the confusion, for this has been taken to mean that, from the outset, the cult center was on or near the site of the present church, inside the city [5]. However, this citation occurs only in the Bernensis edition of the martyrology, which — unlike most of that collection — does not date from 422 or earlier but is comparatively late, albeit not later than the end of the sixth century. Thus the citation in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is more or less contemporary with the first documentary reference in 595 to the "*titulus sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum*" [6].

On the other hand, a "*titulus Aemilianae*" appears in the signatures of 499 and disappears from the synod list of 595, to be replaced by a "*titulus Quattuor Coronatorum*". On this basis it has always been assumed that the two are identical, and that SS. Quattro Coronati replaced the *titulus Aemilianae*. But this is not entirely certain. To be sure, the title "*titulus Aemilianae*" can be traced back to 499 [7], and the identity of the two titles seems to be proved by the absence of the for-

[1] See above, digs. IV century and V-VI century (?).
[2] See above, dig. 354.
[3] DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 233 f.; *L. P.* II, p. 43, n. 77.
[4] See above, digs. 625-638, ca. 635-642.
[5] See above, dig. VI century (?); DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 233.
[6] See above, dig. 595.
[7] See above, dig. 499.

mula "*Quattuor Coronatorum*" from the earlier list, and of the formula "*Aemilianae*" from the later [1]. But it must be pointed out that as late as the ninth century, the *Liber Pontificalis* cites a separate "*titulus Aemilianae*" alongside "*SS. Quattro Coronati*" [2]. In any event, the foundation of the *titulus Aemilianae* may go back long before 499.

As long as the fourth century hall which the present structure incorporates was unknown, it was natural to look for the early cult center of the saints at the foot of the hill where Christian finds — epitaphs and frescoes in a bath which had been transformed into a chapel — had come to light in the seventeenth century [3]. It was all the more natural since the existence of the cult center of the four saints "*ad Caelio monte*" was assigned to the fourth or the early fifth centuries. But the arguments carry little weight. The frescoes in questions were apparently of high medieval date, "*de' tempi antichi-moderni*" [4]; the epitaphs, including the Damasian fragment, may well be rejects from the mass of similar plaques brought from the catacombs for use as paving stones in the Romanesque, or perhaps even in the Carolingian basilica; and, as discussed above, the cult center "*ad Caelio monte*" need not have existed much before the end of the sixth century.

The discovery of the aisleless apsed hall below the Carolingian and the first Romanesque basilicas seems at first glance to eliminate all doubt about the location of the *titulus Aemilianae*. The structural technique of that building is certainly not later than the fourth century. The proportion of mortar to brick, the doublefaced mortar pointing, and the carefully faced rubble foundation walls are all closely paralleled in the Constantinian structure of the Lateran Basilica. The use of bipedal courses for strengthening the attachment of the brick wall face to the concrete core, common in the second century, is rare, if ever known in Rome after the fourth century.

However, the problem is complex and there remain a number of possibilities. The "*titulus Aemilianae*" may be identical with the later "*titulus sanctorum Quattuor Coronatorum*", both legally and physically, in which case two alternatives present themselves. It is possible the apsed nave was built from the outset as the meeting hall of that titulus, about the middle of the fourth century or not much later. Nothing in the plan or structure of the hall would discount this date; indeed, the apse is appropriately laid out pointing west. If this holds, it would be a remarkably early and important example of church building in Rome. But there is no indication that the hall was laid out for the purposes of a Christian community. Thus it is equally possible that it originally was a reception hall in one of the great domus which stood on the Coelian Hill, becoming a church only later when the domus was acquired by the Christian community as one of their tituli. This obviously would have taken place before 499, when the *titulus Aemilianae* is first mentioned. The cult of the four martyrs would then have been transferred to the titulus in the course of the sixth century, replacing its older name, certainly before 595 when it appears in an official document.

But there is still another possibility. The *Liber Pontificalis* states in the biography of Honorius I (625-638) that this pope made, dedicated and endowed the church of the Quattro Coronati [5]. Nothing in the structure can be attributed to the seventh century except perhaps the pavement found in the area of the old north aisle (fig. 21) and some chancel posts. Nevertheless, the wording of the *Liber Pontificalis*, though brief, is precise and can be interpreted to support the hypothesis that Honorius transferred the cult of the four saints to an existing secular building, the apsed nave. In Honorius' biography the words "*fecit a solo*" are omitted with regard to the churches he estab-

[1] KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 33 ff.
[2] See above, dig. 795-816.
[3] COLINI, *op. cit.*, p. 297 ff.
[4] BARTOLI, "Memorie...", quoted above, dig. late XVII century.
[5] See above, dig. 625-638.

lished at S. Adriano, S. Lucia in Selcis[1], and SS. Quattro Coronati. The first of these certainly was a secular classical edifice, and probably the second was as well. This tends to suggest that SS. Quattro Coronati was also a secular structure which Honorius took over and furnished as a church.

We find it hard to select among these three possibilities. If either of the first two is accepted, the passage in the biography of Honorius I must be reinterpreted, perhaps to mean that he officially dedicated the hall to the four saints, whose name it had previously borne in popular parlance, possibly even among its clergy, but not liturgically. If, on the contrary, the third hypothesis is accepted, it would have to be argued that the *titulus Aemilianae* was in a different part of the domus to which the apsed hall belonged, or in a building close by, and that the hall became its church only when Honorius transferred to it both the old titulus and the cult of the four saints which the titulus had absorbed. Such a hypothesis might find support in the continued use in ninth century sources of the nomenclature "*titulus Aemilianae*" alongside "*titulus sanctorum IIII Coronatorum*", and this might indicate that the titulus continued its legal existence in some form; but it is also possible that the ninth century formula "*titulus Aemilianae*" (never "*sanctae Aemilianae*") is merely part of the Carolingian renascence of Early Christian traditions[2]. The official designation fluctuates for a long time, both "*titulus Aemilianae*" and "*titulus Quattuor sanctorum*" appearing side by side in the second half of the ninth century.

The aisled basilica with its trabeated colonnade, atrium, and gate tower is clearly a Carolingian building; the reused Servian blocks in the foundations and the undulant coursing of the brickwork leave no room for doubt[3]. A precise date in the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) is provided by the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* which attributes to him the rebuilding of the church as well as the transfer of the relics of the four martyrs and numerous other saints[4].

While subsequent developments at SS. Quattro Coronati are outside the scope of this work, the dates of the two Romanesque remodelings require some discussion. Leo's basilica was burned by the Normans of Robert Guiscard in 1084 and was rebuilt by Paschal II, who ascended the papal throne in 1099[5]. Parts of the Carolingian structure — notably the east wall of the nave, the outer walls of the aisles, the south chapel and the south quadrant of the apse — were preserved well enough to be incorporated into the new building, although their decorations had been damaged by the fire of 1084. Thus the first Romanesque church had much the same form as Leo's, except that the nave colonnades were arcaded instead of trabeated, and the great cornice, which must have been a notable feature of the earlier nave, was omitted. It is doubtful if this first Romanesque church was completed. At least the east portion of the south colonnade remained trabeated, and it is possible that the project of rebuilding was prematurely suspended. In any event, the first Romanesque church was replaced by a second of greatly reduced size. This is the church which stands today, with its transept, aisles, galleries, and nave all fitted into the western half of

[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 1; II, p. 193; see now also, Mancini, "La chiesa medioevale di S. Adriano nel Foro Romano", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 40 (1967-68) p. 191 ff.

[2] We are grateful to Miss Penelope Mayo for pointing out this possibility.

[3] Our dating of the tower conflicts with previous authorities. Muñoz, *op. cit.*, p. 80, believed that it was a twelfth century structure modified in the seventeenth century, and that the marble pillars of the arcades belonged to the latter date. Serafini, *Torri Campanarie*, p. 223, thought that the tower was eleventh century work and that the south [illegible] wall was original while the other three sides were restorations; he too assigned the marble pillars to the seventeenth century. We consider the marble-pillared loggia to be wholly Carolingian. The brickwork of the angle piers and arcading is in no way different from that of the walls below, and the steeply inclined arch bricks are comparable with those in the clerestorey of S. Maria in Domnica (see above, Vol. II, pl. 22). The marble pillars are unique and seem as likely to belong to the Carolingian as to any other period; perhaps the nearest analogy is in the baluster pillars of English tenth century towers, such as St. Benedict's, Cambridge.

[4] See above, dig. 847-855.

[5] See above, dig. 1099-1118.

the first Romanesque nave. Its date remains in some doubt. A bull issued on May 14, 1116, by Paschal II states unequivocally that the church he built was laid out "*minoribus spatiis*" compared to its predecessor[1]. Since the first Romanesque church was as large as the Carolingian basilica, the passage must refer to the present church. This means that the second church followed the first almost immediately, that is, that the project of the first church was abandoned in the course of construction, perhaps because of the lack of timber for the roof beams. The masonry which blocks the arcades of the first church — and thus forms the side walls of the second church — is not very different from the original Romanesque brickwork. Moreover, the type of the second church with galleries (or possibly sham galleries) surmounting the aisles corresponds with an early twelfth century Roman practice, often adopted to diminish the span of the roof beams. Parallels are found at S. Alessio e Bonifacio, probably dated about 1100; at S. Croce in Gerusalemme, 1144 to 1145; in the span walls crossing the central space of S. Stefano Rotondo, 1130 to 1143; and in the transept of S. Paolo f. l. m.[2]. Hence there is more than a possibility that Paschal II, after starting and abandoning the project of the first church, built the second Romanesque church when he issued the bull of May 1116. In this case, the rediscovery of the relics and the building of the new high altar as recorded by the *Liber Pontificalis* and the inscription on the altar[3] would be linked to the construction of Paschal's second church.

On the other hand, there is also a possibility that Paschal actually completed the first Romanesque church, and that the smaller church followed only a century later, in the first half of the thirteenth century. The cloisters, datable by their style to the years 1200-1220[4], presuppose the existence of the present church and may indeed be contemporaneous with it. Similarly, the Chapel of St. Sylvester, which occupies part of the atrium portico and the easternmost bay of the north aisle of the first Romanesque church, cannot be earlier than the present church; its paintings, executed in 1246, provide a *terminus ante quem*[5]. Finally, there was formerly a painting on the right wall of the present church which bore the date 1248[6]. All these works might have been included in the program whereby the church was reduced to its present size. But this second alternative is not very likely.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The question of the importance of SS. Quattro Coronati as an Early Christian building must of necessity remain unsolved. If the apsed hall, dating certainly from the mid-fourth century, was intended as a Christian structure from the outset, then it would be a very important example of early church building in Rome. As it is, the situation is analogous to that of S. Balbina[7] — that is, there is no decisive evidence, either archeological or literary, to show that the hall was originally a religious as opposed to a secular structure. If it was originally a secular building, then SS. Quattro Coronati may be compared to such churches as S. Andrea in Catabarbara and S. Lucia in Selcis[8], where secular or pagan buildings were transformed into Christian churches in the seventh century.

[1] See above, dig. 1099-1116; see also Kehr, *op. cit.*, 1898, p. 348 ff., esp. 379; Idem, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 41 f.

[2] See above, Vol. I, pp. 40, 181; below, p. 209; and *L. P.*, II, p. 384.

[3] See above, dig. 1099-1118.

[4] Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 98.

[5] Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 290, no. 718; see above, dig. 1246.

[6] Muñoz, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 68 ff.

[7] See above, Vol. I, p. 91 f.

[8] See above, Vol. I, p. 62 f.; II, p. 189 f.

The Carolingian renovations of SS. Quattro Coronati expanded the previous structure into an unusually large church. Characteristic of the revival of Early Christian tradition is the use of columns supporting an entablature rather than arcades, the formation of an atrium with a quadriporticus, and the construction of an annular crypt. The tower over the entrance gate, reminiscent of a tradition indigenous to northern architecture, may reflect the impact of a transalpine style on Rome[1].

In the two Romanesque remodelings, both possibly datable to the reign of Paschal II, the first church replaced the classical architrave with an arcaded colonnade, in accordance with twelfth century practice, and introduced the cross-shaped pier to accent the longitudinal progression of the colonnade. The second reconstruction of the church in the Romanesque period greatly reduced its size and introduced galleries (possibly sham) comparable to those in analogous Romanesque remodelings[2].

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[1] Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture", *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), p. 1 ff., e sp. pp. 16 ff., 26.

[2] See above, p. 35.

SS. QUIRICO E GIULITTA

(*S. Corbett*)

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I. Ancient descriptions[1].

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II. Ancient illustrations.

1582 Scamozzi, View of church from south (from *forum transitorium*), engraving; *Discorsi sopra le antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1582, pl. 6 (our fig. 33).

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[1] The sources for the history and ancient descriptions of SS. Quirico e Giulitta are given in generous excerpts by Montalto, *op. cit.*, p. 153 ff.

1588 FRA SANTI, View of west façade with apse, inscribed " *Templ. S. Quirici* ", woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 59 (our fig. 34).

1593 TEMPESTA, View of church from southwest, woodcut; *Urbis Romae Prospectus* (ed. SCHÜCK, Stockholm, 1915); republished map of 1606 (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo da Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932).

1618 GIOVANNOLI, View of church and campanile from south, engraving; *Roma antica*, I, Rome, 1618, f. 31 (our fig. 32).

1625 MAGGI, View of church from southwest, woodcut; Maggi-Maupin-Losi, Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1915).

1676 FALDA, Plan of church, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo di Clemente X*, Rome, 1931).

Prior to 1728 ANONYMOUS, Plan of church, pen and wash; Archivio Vaticano, Vicariato, *SS. Quirico e Giulitta, Contenzioso giuridico*, *loc. cit.* (RAVA, *op. cit.*, fig. 9).

C. DATES

538—545 Pope Vigilius consecrates the altar still surviving (see below, dig. 1584 and p. 45); the date of Vigilius' arrest, in 545, and subsequent exile until his death provides the *terminus ante*.

End VIII century The Einsiedeln Itinerary twice makes reference to " *Sci Cyriaci* " (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsiedlense*, cols. 439, 441).

1475 Sixtus IV finds the church in ruins and restores it:

> INSTAURATA VIDET QUIRICUS CUM MRE IULITA
> QUE (*sic*) FUERANT LONGA DIRUTA TENPLA (*sic*) DIE
> PRINCIPE SUB SIXTO DELUBRIS NULLA VETUSTAS
> HIC REFECIT PONTES MENIA TEMPLA VIAS.

This inscription, now on the main door [1] (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 301), was formerly within the church (MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, p. 294; MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 160). Other inscriptions of similar content were formerly read on the main door, in the pavement of the church and on one of the beams (TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 303: " ... *le seguenti parole ... da me copiate nel 1628: Iussu impensaque Sixti IV Pont. Max. Georgius de Ruere Ecclesiarum Urbis Curator instauravit anno Iubilei. In terra in un marmo vi si legge Sixtus IV anno Jubilei 1475* "; see also Galletti, quoted in FORCELLA, *loc. cit.*; MONTALTO, *loc. cit.*). Albertini, also, records: " *Et ecclesia Quirici et Julietae ca. 1470 cum ecclesia sancti Vitalis ... quae omnes collapsae a fundamentis Sixtus IV anno Jubilaei restituit* " (ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus ... Romae*, 1519, c. 78ᵛ).

ca. 1570 Pius V raises the adjoining ground 3.25 m. to create Via Tor de' Conti in what had previously been a marsh on the site of the Fora of Augustus and Nerva (LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, 1889, p. 30; IDEM, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 307), with the result that the church stands considerably below street level.

1584 Cardinal Alessandro Medici restores the church: " *essa chiesa così fuori come dentro redutta in miglior forma e con diverse pitture adornata* " (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 277 bis). While remodeling the high altar, he discovers an ancient altar below, assigned by an inscription, now lost, to the pontificate of Vigilius, 538-555 [2]. Cardinal Alessandro's inscription, formerly on the frontal of the high altar (MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 166, quoting Mellini and Bruzio), is now on the wall near the apse: " SEDENTE GREGORIO XIII SUMMO PONT. ALEXANDER MEDICES HUIUS TIT. PRESB. CARD. ARCHIEP. FLOREN. ALTARE HOC A SE TRANSLATUM ET IN MELIOREM EORMAM (*sic*) REDACTUM AD DEI HONOREM ET BEATT. MARTT. QUIRICI ET IULITAE ... CONSECRAVIT RECONDITIS SACRIS RELIQUIIS EX BRACHIIS EORUMDEM MARTT. TUM ALIIS RELIQUIIS QUAS IDE' INVENIT IN ANTIQUISS. ALTARI A VIGILIO PAPA CONSECRATO QUEMADMODUM TABULA MARMOREA IBIDEM INVENTA DECLARABAT ... ANNO DOM MDLXXXIII DIE XIX FEBRUARII " (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 302).

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[1] The main door's frame dates by its style from the fifteenth century as well; but neither frame nor inscription is in its original place. They do not necessarily belong together; indeed, the inscription seems to have been trimmed a little to make it fit the frame.

[2] Nothing is known of this original inscription except what is reported in the inscription of 1584. It was preserved for a time, but early in the seventeenth century it was carelessly built into the foundation of some new structure probably, but not certainly, the exedra for the new high altar (MELLINI, *op. cit.*, f. 384ᵛ).

1606 The church floor is raised on vaults to bring it into correspondence with the ground level: " PAULUS V PONT. MAX. ECCLESIAM HANC TITULO VACANTE EX DEPRESSIORI LOCO ET AQUARUM INUNDATIONIBUS EXPOSITO IACTIS FORNICIBUS STRATO PAVIMENTO IN ALTIOREM MELIOREMQUE FORMAM RESTITUIT ANN. SAL. HUM. MDCVI " (inscription above the doorway at the west end of the church; *ibid.*).

1608 The high altar is transferred to the east end of the nave, and a doorway is pierced through the old apse: " ... *l'anno 1608 ... (il) Rettore D. Bernardo Sapparini ... la tribuna la dove prima si entrava in chiesa per uno scuro passaggio e dall'altra fece la facciata* ... " (PANCIROLI, *loc. cit.*, 1625; cf. MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff., 178, quoting Mellini and others).

1630—1631 Construction of diaphragm arches across the nave and of the present presbytery terminate the remodeling of the church: " ... *1626 ritrovo detta chiesa ... senza la cappella maggiore et con l'archi due bassi a mezza chiesa ... l'anno 1631 la detta chiesa è stata finita di ristorare con la cappella maggiore ... et archi alzati al tetto* ... " (document of 1633, Archivio di Stato, *Corporazioni religiose, SS. Quirico e Giulitta*, pacco 5, fasc. 1, cc. 508, 510, quoted by RAVA, *op. cit.*, p. 230 f.); and " *Ecclesiam ... a Xisto IV paene collabentem instauratam denuo ruinam minantem in elegantiorem hanc formam restituit Urbanus VIII ... MDCXXX* ... " (inscription formerly in the vault, read " *nella volta ... a lettere d'oro* " by TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ff. and others; see MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 173 ff.). Comparison of Maggi's map of 1625 with Falda's of 1676 suggests that the old apse was removed at this time.

1728—1737 New restorations include vaults below the floor and above the nave, redecoration of walls and painting of the high altar (Archivio Vaticano, *Vicariato, Fondo S. Quirico, Documenti della chiesa ... 1736, passim*, quoted by MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 176 ff.; see also Archivio Vaticano, *Vicariato, SS. Quirico e Giulitta, Contenzioso giuridico*, n. 8, quoted by RAVA, *op. cit.*, p. 231; and epitaph, dated 1739, FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 303).

1750 A dormitory is built above the church (Archivio di Stato, *Corporazioni religiose, SS. Quirico e Giulitta*, pacco 3, lettera A, quoted by RAVA, *op. cit.*, p. 231).

1806 The church is redecorated (see inscription quoted in MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 181; not in FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*).

1930—1936 and 1954 The lower church is excavated (GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of SS. Quirico e Giulitta stands to the east of the Forum of Augustus, only a few yards from the great stone screen which rises behind the Temple of Mars Ultor (figs. 32, 33). Its orientation is almost precisely west-east, with the entrance at the west end. The church owes its present form substantially to the restorations of 1728-1737[1]. The single entrance is embellished with a door frame above which the inscriptions of Sixtus IV and Paul V are displayed[2].



Fig. 32. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Giovannoli, View of church from south across *forum transitorium*, 1618
(*Vedute degli antichi vestigi di Roma*, pl. 24)



Fig. 33. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Scamozzi, View of church from south across *forum transitorium*, 1582
(*Discorsi sopra le antichità di Roma*, pl. 6)



Fig. 34. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Fra Santi, Façade of church with former apse, 1588
(*Cose maravigliose*, c. 39)

Inside, a rectangular presbytery continues the simple nave eastward and shelters the high altar. Projecting piers and arches divide the nave into four bays; it is lit by windows set high above the arches (pl. III). Above the vaulted ceiling, a spacious attic built in 1750 serves as refectory and dormitory for the clergy[3]. A Romanesque campanile stands at the southeast corner of the nave. At present both flanks of the church are hidden by private houses and other secular buildings which press against its walls, and the original situation is better understood through sixteenth century illustrations (figs. 33, 34). However, the south wall was accessible in 1960 while the adjacent hotel was being rebuilt. At that time other important parts of the original church, dating from the sixth century, were discovered. Indeed, other elements of the early building had previously been found in cellars beneath the nave. By adding these data to information from

[1] See above, dig. 1728-1737.
[2] See above, digs, 1475, 1606.
[3] See above, dig. 1750. At this level the building is spanned by pointed brick arches which GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*, erroneously thought were medieval; they appear to date from 1630-1631; see above, dig. 1630-1631.

illustrations and descriptions of the structure prior to 1630, it is possible to reconstruct the outlines of the original church. In particular Fra Santi's woodcut (fig. 34) and Ugonio's contemporaneous description of 1588 give us an idea of the church at their time. It too was a simple nave with chapels disposed along each side wall, but it differed from the present church in numerous respects: (*a*) the orientation was reversed, with the entrance at the east and the altar at the west end; (*b*) a low, polygonal apse opening in a huge center window projected from what is now the west façade; (*c*) on either side above the apse, two round-headed windows opened into the nave wall; they were covered by marble slabs with numerous round holes; (*d*) floor and roof levels were about four meters lower than at present; (*e*) the original walls of the nave were visible; the present walls are built inside these, masking them from the interior (pl. III).

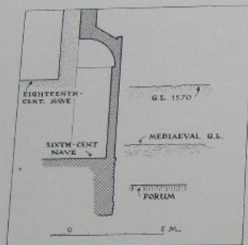
The axis was reversed in 1608 when the altar was transferred to the location of the original entrance[1]. Perhaps at this time the center window of the apse was transformed into the portal which appears in Maggi's view of the church[2]. However, the rebuilding was apparently completed only in 1630-1631, when a new square chancel was added at the east end of the nave, and the diaphragm arches which crossed the nave were all raised to the same height[3]. In all likelihood, at the same time, the old polygonal apse was removed and the present doorway created[4]. Nevertheless, the church could be entered from the west long before the seventeenth century. As early as 1588, Fra Santi's woodcut (fig. 34) shows doorways set in wing walls on either side of the old apse. Ugonio makes it clear that the original eastern entrance had become difficult of access. Inside he still saw in the old apse remains of a mosaic showing Saints Stephen and Lawrence[5]; outside, at his time, the nave wall above the apse showed a painting and, flanking it, two round-headed windows, as in Fra Santi's woodcut. Mellini described the church as he saw it about 1660[6]. He noted four painted figures in the upper part of the façade[7], just as Fra Santi shows them, and also the arms and inscription of Paul V[8]. The arms of Cardinal de' Medici which he noticed inside the entrance[9] were probably painted on the wall of the old apse.

E. ANALYSIS

1. Foundations

In 1960, when the houses adjoining the south wall of the church were being remodeled, a sounding was made to examine the foundations (pl. III). The brick facing of the nave side wall was found to continue to a depth of 4.40 m. below the level of the present nave pavement. Below that, the brick wall facing ceased, but trench-cast concrete foundations extended down 3.10 m. further. The section (fig. 35) indicates that the builders of the church dug their foundation trenches to a depth of 1.30 m. below the classical street level and that the latter was already buried 1.80 m. when the

[1] See above, dig. 1608.
[2] RAVA, *op. cit.*, p. 223, fig. 4.
[3] See above, dig. 1630-1631.
[4] While still noted on Maggi's map in 1625, the old apse had disappeared by 1676, when Falda drew his plan.
[5] UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 277v: "*Già credo io chi prima la fabricò, li diede altra prospettiva di quella che ha adesso. Perchè si vede, che la sua facciata con il portico hanno ingombrato nuovi edifitij, che sono succeduti dipoi. Dentro è un mediocre quadretto con alcune piccole cappelle dalle bande. Dietro l'Altar Maggiore ci resta ancora nella Tribuna il Musaico antico con l'imagini da una parte di S. Stefano e dall'altra di S. Lorenzo...*". See IDEM, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 127; and MELLINI, Vat. lat. 11905, c. 382, quoted by MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
[6] MELLINI, *op. cit.*, c. 382-386v.
[7] *Ibid.*, c. 383: "*Nella facciata ha in alto quattro figure grandi in piedi di chiaro scuro: S. Gio. Battista, S. Stefano, S. Quirico, S. Giulitta*".
[8] See above, dig. 1606.
[9] MELLINI, *op. cit.*, c. 383v: "*Entrando in chiesa dai lati della porta sono dipinte due arme del Cardinale de' Medici...*".



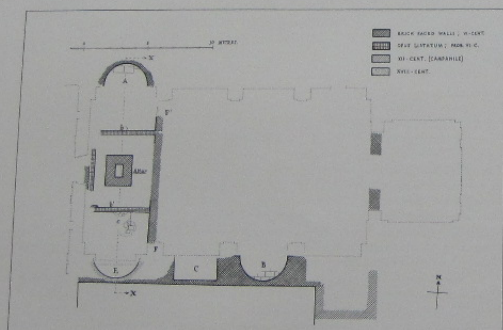
(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 35. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Relative levels from first century through eighteenth century

church was built[1]. It seems that only 0.40 m. accumulated during the next thousand years, possibly because the marshy character of the land inhibited the natural accumulation of detritus. Finally, in 1570 the ground level was artificially raised by 3.25 m. depth of imported earth.

2. Superstructure

All the major walls surviving from the original church building are faced with brick (figs. 36, 37). The bricks are large and fairly uniform in thickness, but they are certainly spoils from more ancient buildings. Brick courses are horizontal and mortar beds are smoothly struck off with a trowel held at a slight angle, so that the face of each mortar bed coincides with the under edge of the brick course above it, but is



(Drawing: Corbett)

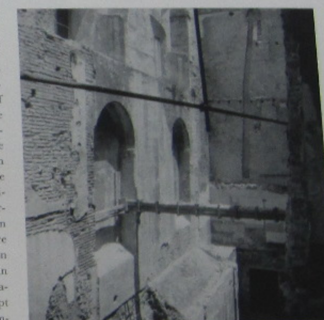
Fig. 36. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Finds below present nave, plan

[1] Figure 35 shows the cross section of these foundations as compared with the stratigraphy of the Forum of Augustus (Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1889).

slightly recessed behind the upper edge of the course below. Courses are not quite uniform in thickness, varying between 55 and 65 mm. for one course of brick and one of mortar (i. e., 5 to 4½ courses per Roman foot). *Opus listatum* occurs in the original structure only in some minor walls flanking the main altar, presumably the footings of chancel screens.

3. The interior of the church

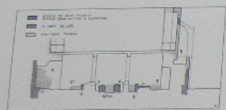
The original plan of the church is clear about four meters below the present nave pavement, in a basement formed when the eighteenth century tombs were cleared away in 1954. Here the south wall survives, as do two small side apses, one in the north wall of the church near the west façade, the other to the south, corresponding to the third bay (pl. III; figs. 36, A, B; 37). The southern apse (B) is also visible above the nave floor, where it forms a closet at the back of the third bay on the south side. The closet is semicircular in plan, roofed with a half dome, and obviously constitutes the upper half of the apse. The vertical apse wall rises 0.80 m. above the nave floor and terminates in a horizontal setback on which the vault rests; the setback may indicate that the half dome was formerly encrusted with mosaics. In the basement below, the structure of the apse can be examined in detail. It is built of brick, in courses 5.5 cm. high with the characteristics described above, except that these bricks are small; presumably small bricks were used to allow the curve of the wall to be made as smoothly as possible. At the base of the curved wall a few flagstones of a plain marble pavement mark the original floor level, 4.40 m. below the floor of the present nave. This level corresponds exactly with the line on the exterior face of the wall where the brick-faced superstructure rests on the trench-cast concrete of the foundations.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 37. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. South wall of nave

The northern side apse (fig. 36, A) corresponds with the westernmost bay of the present church. Nothing exists above the present nave floor level, but the lower part of the apse appears in the basement; it resembles apse B in many respects (fig. 39). The masonry is of small bricks laid in 5.5 cm. courses with the same style of mortar pointing as noted above. A few slabs *in situ* attest to a floor level which is 4.00 m. below the modern floor and therefore 0.40 m. higher than the pavement of apse B. The plaster decorations of apses A and B were similar: a white background with a dado of conventionalized hanging curtains. Above the hangings a few fragments of the



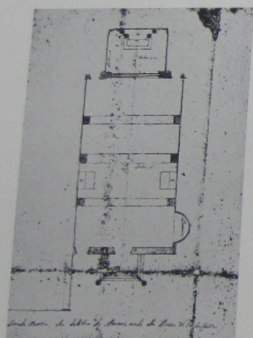
(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 38. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Finds below present nave, longitudinal section



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 39. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Apse A, below present floor level, north side of nave



(Rava, *op. cit.*, fig. 9)

Fig. 40. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Plan of church, prior to 1728

upper paintings survive: apparently standing figures were depicted, but only the feet and the skirts of the robes remain. Apse B is flanked on either side, in correspondence with the second and fourth bays, by two other exedrae which differ from the first in that their plan is rectangular instead of semicircular (pl. III; fig. 36). The exedra which lies behind the second bay of the nave (C) exists today only below floor level; most of the upper part was destroyed in the eighteenth century when the adjacent houses were built, but a small part of the original vault was seen when these houses were pulled down in 1960. It was a barrel vault, set at right angles to the axis of the church. The removal of the eighteenth century houses also disclosed, at floor level, the eastern side wall and part of the rear wall of the same exedra; the rear wall was only 0.30 m. thick and was decorated with a simple trellis pattern of fifteenth century character, perhaps from the time of Sixtus IV. The thinness of the wall is due to the encroachment of adjacent buildings. A similar rectangular exedra, corresponding with the fourth bay of the present nave, is better preserved. Externally it is enclosed in the fabric of the Romanesque campanile; internally it consists of a heavily plastered barrel vault standing at right angles to the nave wall and entered through a doorway in the fourth bay. A narrow passage hacked through the vault gives access to apse B (fig. 36).

The excavations of 1960 disclosed another apse on the south side of the church facing apse A (fig. 36, E). It is in line with the three southern chapels described above, but the interval between it and exedra C is notably wider than the intervals which separate the two rectangular exedrae from apse B. Thus the exedrae on the south side of the nave were divided into a symmetrical group of three, on one hand, and a single apse set apart from the group, on the other. Today apse E is cut off at ground level, but the lower courses were identified during the building operations of 1960. The internal curved wall seemed to be a comparatively recent structure but the brickwork of the rectilinear external wall face, at a lower level, was comparable with the early brickwork seen elsewhere in the church (figs. 37, 39). The presence of an unquestionably early side apse facing it in the north wall of the church leaves little doubt that the late masonry of E represents the rebuilding of an earlier feature of similar form. Apse E was still intact and was used as a baptistery in the eighteenth century, and it appears on a plan of the church discovered in the church archives by Rava (fig. 40)[1].

On the central axis of the nave, midway between apses A and E and about 3.80 m. below the present nave floor, remains have been found of what is almost certainly the original high altar



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 41. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Base of altar, original church



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 42. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Original church, chapel on south side of bema; junction between wall b' and F-F' with remains of *opus sectile* pavement

(fig. 41). It is a rectangular structure 2.37 by 2.06 m. in plan, enclosing a rectangular cavity 0.92 by 0.58 m. Both exterior and interior faces are built in unusually fine brickwork: the 5.5 cm. courses are composed of carefully chosen bricks of large size, while the inclined pointing seems executed with special care. The relics which were found inside the cavity are presumably those which Cardinal de' Medici transferred to a new altar in 1584. The surviving part of the altar lay wholly beneath the level of the pavement which once surrounded it. The latter has disappeared, but its substructure is identifiable in a stratum of compacted rubble.

The lowest courses of two longitudinal walls built in *opus listatum* (figs. 36, b, b'; 38; 42) stand at short distances north and south from the altar base. The southern one (b') is constructed neatly on its south face but the north side is left rough, suggesting that it formed the south edge of the bema a-a (fig. 38). Some fragments of *opus sectile* (figs. 36, c; 42) which touch the south face of wall b' lie at the same level as the flagstones d (fig. 38) in the north side apse A, indicating the level of the floor to the north and south of the central bema. This floor, it will be remembered, is 0.40 m. higher than the floor found in side apse B.

To the west of the altar base, an *opus listatum* cross wall of poor quality (fig. 36) is probably the foundation of a step leading up to a higher part of the bema, presumably in the former apse. A

[1] Rava, *op. cit.*, fig. 9.

brick wall above it (seen at the rear in fig. 42) may be the apse chord. The apse itself remains unexcavated, but its existence is well attested by Fra Santi's engraving (fig. 34) and by written accounts[1].

To the east of the altar a strong brick wall (figs. 36, F-F'; 38) crosses the nave from north to south, corresponding with the wider interval which occurs between exedrae E and C. The brickwork has the same characteristics as the external walls. No surviving part of wall F rises above the floor level, which is indicated by the pavement in apse A and the fragment of *opus sectile*. Moreover, while the lower courses of the *listatum* wall b butt against F, the two highest surviving courses oversail it, thus confirming that wall F did not stand above the original pavement; hence it can be interpreted as a stylobate of an underfloor span wall.

4. The south wall

The four exedrae, two semicircular and two rectangular (pl. III), which open from the south side of the nave, are bounded externally by a straight wall which, despite the encroachments of adjacent buildings, is still represented near its base by a few courses of the original brick facing. The two niches in the western half of the church are cut down to the present ground level, but the eastern pair is more or less intact; the easternmost is more than half buried in the structure of the Romanesque campanile.

Where the two western niches have been cut down and the concrete core of the nave wall is exposed in elevation, the outline of the former arched opening to each niche is distinguishable; the backed concrete of the wall core is replaced by the brick or rubble filling wall which closes the niche opening. The apex of the westernmost niche is nearly half a meter higher than the other three (pl. III).

The concrete structure of the four niches terminates at its summit in a sloping lean-to roof which bridges the gap between the vertical wall at the rear of the niches and the vertical wall of the nave proper (pl. III; fig. 37). This concrete roof is intact in the eastern half of the church and its scar is clearly seen in the western part; the place where the roof of the niches joins the upper nave wall face is a horizontal line extending from one end of the nave to the other. Above this line the brickwork of the nave wall has the same character as noted elsewhere.

The Early Christian brickwork rises some six meters above the summit of the lateral niches. It is pierced by three large windows, one window standing above each of the three niches in the eastern part of the nave (pl. III; fig. 37). The windows are two meters wide and four meters from sill to apex; they are capped by neatly turned semicircular arches of radially-set sesquipedales, which are set back a few centimeters from the vertical sides of the openings. Above them the brickwork terminates in a horizontal line (figs. 37, 43). Still higher, and set considerably behind the brick wall face, the upper portion of the eighteenth century nave wall appears; in fact, the eighteenth century structure does not rest on the earlier walls but is built up inside them, and only the buttresses of the attic story (which was added in 1750) rest upon the ancient wall. The ancient wall formerly terminated in a late medieval cornice of marble corbel stones and saw-toothed brickwork, probably added when the campanile was built, but this feature was removed to make way for the eighteenth century windows. It remains in only one place on the south side of the nave, where it was enclosed in the wall of an adjacent house.

While the three large windows in the south wall of the nave correspond with the group of three symmetrically arranged side niches below them, the wall above the fourth niche (near the south-

[1] UGONIO, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 117 and *Stationi*, c. 277v; NARDONI, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

west corner of the church) is pierced by a much smaller window, 1.20 m. by 2.40 m., set at a considerably lower level (pl. III; fig. 44). Nevertheless, its brick arch is identical with the larger ones and the brickwork of the wall face extends uninterruptedly from the spandrel of the small window to the flank of the large one. Hence the smaller window must be part of the original design of the church. Above the apex of the small arch the usual brickwork of the church walls is absent and a wall of tufa blocks (*opera saracinesca*) takes its place. The brickwork ceases in an irregular horizontal line over the window arch and is broken off raggedly for a few courses to the right, as it rises to enclose the larger windows; but at a point about 1.40 m. below the level of the former medieval cornice, this ragged edge gives way to a vertical joint. In the narrow fissure which exists between the vertical arris of brickwork and the adjacent *saracinesca* masonry the edge of a plaster revetment has survived. Thus the vertical fissure marks what was formerly an exterior angle between the south and west façades of the church; it also appears that the west façade was coated with plaster. Obviously this part of the west façade did not extend below the point where the vertical fissure ceases, because at that level the brickwork of the south façade continues further west. Thus the west façade stood in two planes. For most of its height it presumably coincided with the west wall of the present church, but near the top the façade was set back some six meters behind the lower part. The upper plane corresponds with the cross wall F-F', noted close to the ancient altar, beneath the level of the original pavement (fig. 36). Hence wall F-F' marks the position of an arch or an arcade which spanned the nave from north to south and supported the upper part of the west façade.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 43. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. South wall, two easternmost windows



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 44. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Westernmost window of nave (right hand edge) and window above north apse



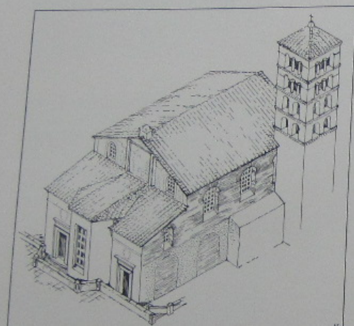
(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 45. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Northeast corner of nave with Romanesque cornice of north wall and remains of original window in east wall

5. The north wall

Like the south wall, the north wall of the church is mainly hidden by adjacent buildings, but the upper part of the northeast cor-

ner emerges above the roofs (fig. 45) and supplies some valuable data. Below the Romanesque cornice, which is level with that of the south wall, six courses of Romanesque brickwork appear[1]. Beneath this, the Early Christian brickwork is distinguishable by its rather larger bricks and by the absence of the mortar, which has perished (hence in fig. 45, the sunlight accentuates the coursing more strongly). The vertical arris of the masonry proves that this is the original northeast corner. The east wall contains traces of two openings: a narrow one with a pointed arch which seems to be intrusive and, to the left, part of an archivolt which may or may not be original. The wall which hides the rest of the archivolt is the north side of the present presbytery.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 46. SS. Quirico e Giulitta. Hypothetical reconstruction of church in the sixteenth century, based on known details of south wall and view of west façade in 1588

F. RECONSTRUCTION

Combining the data set out in the foregoing analysis with the historical evidence, it is not difficult to reconstruct the main outlines of the church as it must have been at the end of the sixteenth century (fig. 46). Far from being fanciful, Fra Santi's woodcut is an accurate record of the church as it was in his time (fig. 34). We only have to make allowance for the fact that he saw the church from an elevated position (the ground artificially raised by Pius V) and was thus impelled to make the upper part of the façade slightly over-dominant. In other respects the woodcut can be interpreted in perfect harmony with the data from other sources.

As Ugonio noted, the main entrance to the church had once been at the east end of the nave. At his time it had been supplemented by doorways disposed on either side of the apse (fig. 34). They must have led into small vestibules north and south of the altar, and thence into the main part of the nave through an arch which spanned the whole church and supported the upper part of the west façade. Fra Santi's picture shows small windows in the spandrels of the cross arch and a painted panel occupying the central part of the gable[2]. The panel may possibly have been one of the improvements made by Cardinal Alessandro de'Medici in 1584. The paintings were

[1] The cornice retains traces of what seems to be original painted stucco revetment.

[2] GIOVANNOLI's view of 1618 (fig. 32) shows a round window in place of this painted panel, as does Maggi's map of 1625. Presumably then, the panel was removed in 1606 or 1608 and the four figures seen by MELLINI (see MONTALTO, *op. cit.*, p. 171) were those flanking the windows on either side.

not confined to the central panel but extended over the whole gable wall. We have already noted that Fra Santi shows a polygonal apse with three flat exterior walls. Except for the sixth century example at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina[1], the three-sided apse is otherwise unknown in Rome, and its appearance at SS. Quirico and Giulitta is an indication of date. The large oblong window seen by Fra Santi probably dates either from the rebuilding of Sixtus IV or more likely from that undertaken by Alessandro Medici. It may well have replaced a round-headed window of equally large size and thus reminiscent of the windows in the apse of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina[2]. The parapet wall in the foreground of Fra Santi's woodcut was possibly built to protect the pit in which the church stood after the land around it had been raised.

The original church must have been very much as Fra Santi drew it, except for the Romanesque campanile and the entrances beside the apse. The original entrance, at the east end of the nave, led into a rectangular hall with three niches in each side wall and large windows above them. Presumably other windows opened in the east wall above the entrance. The gable wall at the west end of the nave was supported on an arch or perhaps an arcade which spanned the church from north to south; behind it lay the bema, high altar and main apse, all roofed at a lower level than the nave. The gable wall probably had a central window flanked by roundheaded windows with pierced *transennae*. Apsed side chapels opened to right and left of the high altar, and were roofed at the same level as the bema. Their apses faced north and south, like those flanking the nave, but it is clear from their different spacing and floor level that they were organically part of the chancel or sanctuary. The floor of the two side chapels in the chancel was 0.40 m. higher than that of the nave, as shown by the pavement of apse B (fig. 36), and there must have been steps, presumably located close to the cross arch. The floor of the bema was at least one step higher, and it was separated from the side chapels by chancel rails which stood on the foundation walls b and b' (figs. 36, 38, 42). The apse floor seems to have been higher still. We know of the apse only that Fra Santi shows it as three-sided and that it was decorated internally with mosaic pictures of Saints Lawrence and Stephen[3]. It will be noted that the arrangement of the apses gives the chancel a trefoil plan.

While the nave was lit by the six large windows in its side walls and other windows in the gable walls, the chancel seems to have been gloomy in contrast. We do not know what windows there may have been in the apse and the west walls, but the illumination entering through the small windows above the side chapel apse heads could never have been bright. It seems probable that the architect's intention was to build a tall nave, spacious and brightly lit, contrasting with a low-roofed chancel which was relatively dark and withdrawn behind the cross arch.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The very large windows and accurate quality of the brickwork make it impossible to date the original church later than the sixth century; indeed, taken alone, these features would suggest the fifth. However, the chapels on each side of the altar, serving possibly as *prothesis* and *diaconicon*, the three-sided apse wall and the trefoil plan of the chancel are all indications of Byzantine influence. Indeed, the masonry technique, the large windows and the threesided apse plan find

[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 308, 317 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[3] UGONIO, *Stationi*, as quoted above, p. 41, note 5.

their counterpart in the apse of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, a structure dating from the early part or possibly the middle of the sixth century[1]. The same technique of pointing brickwork with an obliquely held trowel appears in Roman buildings of about that period (for instance in the second church of S. Marco and in the alterations to the so-called Titulus Equitii)[2]. All these features lend support to the tradition contained in the lost inscription which reported that the altar was consecrated by Pope Vigilius in the years 538-545. The original building of SS. Quirico e Giulitta is therefore assigned to the first half of the sixth century.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

SS. Quirico e Giulitta is one of the rare buildings erected *ex novo* in Rome in the sixth century. Its plan appears to fuse a single nave provided with lateral niches, a type customary in Rome, with a trilobe sanctuary, a feature found in the Near East. Such a fusion of Roman and Near Eastern elements would be expected at the time the church was apparently founded, that is, during the first decade of the Byzantine occupation of Rome. Indeed, while the trilobe type appears to be native to Palestine and Egypt (Mount Nebo, mid-fourth century[3]; Deir-el-Abiad and Deir-el-Akhmar at Sohag, fifth century[4]; Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, which we date late sixth century)[5], it does penetrate Greece in the course of the sixth century (Didyma, Paramythia)[6] and perhaps also Constantinople, where the Church of the Blachernae appears to have been remodeled with a trilobe transept or sanctuary under Justinus II, as indicated by two epigrams formerly in the apses (or arches) of the building[7].

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[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 308, 317 f. and, for a date after 550, W. and R. Schumacher, "Die Kirche San Giovanni a Porta Latina", *Kölner Domblatt* 12/13 (1957), p. 22 ff., esp. 35.

[2] See above, Vol. II, p. 234; Vol. III, pp. 105, 116 f., 123.

[3] Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, Jerusalem, 1941, p. 23 ff., esp. p. 39 ff.

[4] Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents de Sohag*, Milan, 1925.

[5] W. Harvey and others, *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, Oxford, 1910; W. Harvey and J. H. Harvey, "Recent Discoveries at the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem", *Archaeologia* 87 (1938), p. 7 ff.

[6] Sotiriou, *Hai Christianikai Thēbai kai hai palaiochristianikai Basilikai tēs Ellados*, Athens, 1931, p. 203 ff.

[7] Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, première partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, tome III, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1953, p. 175 f.

S. SABA

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B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS[2]

C. DATES

ca. 575 The ninth century biographer of Pope Gregory the Great records a tradition, otherwise unsupported, that Silvia, Gregory's mother, lived in a hermitage near the Porta S. Paolo, on the site occupied at the time of his writing by an oratory named after her and by the monastery of S. Saba: "*loco qui dicitur Cella nova, quo hactenus oratorium nomini eius dedicatum est, et famosum sancti Sabae confessoris Christi monasterium*" (John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii*, I, 9 (Migne, *P.L.*, 75, col. 66; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 282).

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* Research assistant, Suzanne Spain.

[1] With the exception of the first two items, the bibliography is limited to publications which postdate the discovery of the Early Christian oratory.

[2] Since the Early Christian oratory and hall were not known until 1900, the illustrative and descriptive material prior to this century is not relevant here.

late VI or early VII century A number of burial inscriptions, some in Greek, others in Latin, all mentioning ecclesiastics with Greek names, were found in the graveyard below the floor of the oratory buried under the basilica (BACCI, *op. cit.*, 1907, pp. 15 ff., 313 ff.). The inscriptions, partly in red paint and thus no longer legible, partly scratched in the mortar of the grave tiles, have been attributed on epigraphic grounds to the late sixth or early seventh century; but the dating must await further proof.

649 Johannes of S. Sabas near Jerusalem (" *abba presbyter venerabilis Laurae sancti Sabaei constitutae in eremo, quae est iuxta Christi Dei nostri sanctam civitatem* ") and three other priors of Greek monasteries, all four long settled in Rome (" *iam per annos habitantes in hac Romana civitate* "), petition for admission to the synod held at the Lateran (MANSI, *Conciliorum*, X, 1764, col. 909; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 281).

678 The sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople is attended by " *Conone et Stephano presbyteris et monachis monasterii, quod cognominatur domus Arsicia positi similiter in seniore Roma* " [1] (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 117, quoting MANSI, *Conciliorum*, XI, col. 231).

prior to 688 Leontius, abbot of S. Saba († 688), relates that Gregory of Agrigento came to Rome and " *cellulam sibi quaesivit apud praefectum monasterii sancti Sabae* " [2] (MIGNE, *P.G.*, 98, col. 615; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 281).

768 The anti-pope Constantine, imprisoned in the summer of 768, is held " *in monasterio Cella novas* ", perhaps a reference to S. Saba (see above, dig. ca. 575; *L.P.*, I, p. 471 f.; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 281).

ca. 772—774 Pope Hadrian I sends Pardus, " *religiosum egumenum monasterii beati Sabae* ", as an envoy to Desiderius, king of the Longobards (*L.P.*, I, p. 493; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 280).

785—787 Pope Hadrian I sends Petrus, " *religiosum abbatem venerabilis monasterii sancti Sabae qui appellatur Cella nova* ", as his legate to Constantine VI and Irene (*L.P.*, I, p. 511; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 281); in 787 Petrus attends the second council of Nicaea (MANSI, *Conciliorum*, XII, *passim*, and XIII, *passim*, esp. col. 12; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 282).

795—816 Pope Leo III gives to the " *venerabili monasterio Sancti Sabae* " altar vessels (?) " *butronem argenteum cum canistro suo* ", textiles (*L.P.*, II, p. 9) and, in 806, a silver crown of considerable weight (*L.P.*, II, p. 22; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 282).

827—844 Pope Gregory IV gives a textile to " *monasterio sancti Sabe* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 79; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 282).

ca. 875 John the Deacon, in his *Vita Gregorii*, links Pope Gregory the Great's mother Silvia to the oratory, which by then bore her name, in the monastery of S. Saba (see above, dig. ca. 575).

955 Reference is made to a vineyard belonging to " *monasterio S. Sabbe que appellatur cella nova* " (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 282).

XI to XIV centuries The church and monastery are mentioned in real estate documents, catalogues and itineraries (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 282 f.).

late X century Benedictines from Montecassino take over the monastery (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 290).

1145 Pope Lucius II charges Petrus, a Cluniac abbot, with the responsibility of maintaining and reforming the monastery (KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 119, no. 3).

1900—1901 The Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura undertakes excavation and restoration of S. Saba. The oratory of S. Silvia is found beneath the pavement of the present basilica (CANNIZZARO, *loc. cit.*, 1900; CANNIZZARO and GAVINI, *loc. cit.*, 1901 and 1902, and later bibliography).

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[1] TESTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 9 ff. believes *Arsicia* to be a *lapsus calami* for *Anicia*, the *gens* of Pope Gregory the Great, and links it to the foundation of the oratory within the monastery of S. Saba by Gregory's mother. The identification, however, remains unproven.

[2] If this Gregory were the " *Gregorius Agrigentinus* " mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great, the existence of the S. Saba monastery about the year 600 would be established; this association, however, remains very doubtful (ANTONELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 114).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

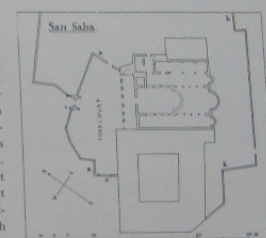
The church of S. Saba stands on a spur of the Aventine between the Baths of Caracalla and the Ostian Gate. It was erected on a platform, possibly an excrescence in the Servian fortifications, and is surrounded by a strong perimeter wall, parts of which (figs. 47; 48, a-a) are built with large tufa blocks, presumably from the fortifications. The entrance is through a fourteenth century covered gateway on the northwest side of the enclosure; an earlier gate, now walled up, stands at the southwest end of the forecourt (fig. 48, c).

The present church is a simple basilica, comprising a nave and two aisles, with another aisle added to the left (pl. IV; figs. 47, 48). The building extends obliquely from northwest to southeast, but for the sake of brevity we shall speak of the altar as at the east end. The nave terminates in an unusually tall and narrow apse, flanked by two smaller apses, one for each original aisle. The nave colonnades are composed of miscellaneous bases, shafts and capitals, supporting eight brick arches on each side. A large clerestorey window opens above each arch. At the west end of the nave a single doorway with a cosmatesque marble frame, dated 1205 by inscription, leads into the nave. Farther west lies the narthex, originally supported on six columns with composite capitals (pl. IV); in the eighteenth century the columns were sold and brick piers were substituted (fig. 48). A row of Romanesque windows in the upper story of the narthex was blocked up in the fifteenth century and replaced by openings with different spacing. The façade of the narthex is crowned by a fifteenth century loggia (fig. 47).



(Louvre, Cab. des Dessins, no. [illegible])

Fig. 47. S. Saba. Valenciennes, View from northeast, 1778-1781



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 48. S. Saba. Sketch plan of present church, forecourt, convent buildings and (broken line) oratory

Judging by its brickwork, the campanile at the west end of the north aisle must be almost contemporary with the main fabric of the basilica. The tower, in the west portion of its south wall, incorporates elements of an older building into its lower stories (fig. 49, left side); but the encroachment of the east wall on the first archway of the nave arcade shows that it was inserted after the nave arcading had been finished. On the other hand, from the level of the nave arcades upwards, the masonry of the campanile bonds with that of the clerestorey and the two thus appear to be contemporaneous (fig. 49, right side).

At the beginning of the present century, a number of sixteenth and seventeenth century additions were removed and the church was restored to its Romanesque form [1]. In the course of the

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[1] The work was supervised by Cannizzaro and Gavini. A number of progress reports were published, but a general account of the work promised in 1901, has not yet appeared.

restorations, the remains of an earlier oratory were discovered below the western half of the present nave; it was a simple apsed chamber 10 m. wide and 13.40 m. long (pl. IV; figs. 49, 55). Frescoes on the oratory walls date from the seventh to the tenth centuries[1]. A cemetery of 120 closely placed brick *loculi* extends beneath its floor (fig. 56). The oratory was created within the walls of a late antique hall which may originally have been secular. The west wall of the hall, which still stands to a considerable height, is incorporated in the west wall of the basilica, and remains of its monumental triple-arch entrance are still visible, though refaced with modern brickwork; above the triple arch are traces of three large windows (figs. 50, 51, 52). When the excavation of the hall was completed, the pavement of the basilica was replaced upon a concrete bridge; the ancient structures underneath are thus still accessible[2].



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 49. S. Saba. Northwest corner of present nave and of oratory during Cannizzaro's excavations

E. ANALYSIS

The walls of the basilica were stripped of plaster during the restorations and, although they are now replastered, photographs taken while the masonry was bare enable us to study the structure in some detail (figs. 49, 50). The lower parts of the oratory and hall are still visible in the excavations beneath the basilica pavement. At the west end of the church, the basilica floor is 1.10 m. above that of the oratory, while the latter lies 0.80 m. above the floor level of the original hall.

1. The hall

The west wall of the hall, still standing nearly ten meters high, is incorporated into the lower half of the west wall of the basilica (fig. 50). Two column bases, 1.90 m. below the pavement of the basilica, indicate the original floor level of the hall (figs. 51; 53 a, b; 54 a, b). Its original northwest

[1] Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.; Styger, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ff.

[2] For a more detailed description of the present church and particularly its crypt, see Cannizzaro, *opp. cit.*, 1900 and 1903; Cannizzaro and Gavini, *op. cit.*, 1902; and Gavini, *op. cit.*, 1912, p. 17 ff.

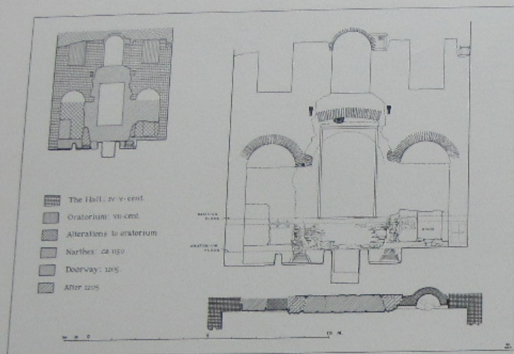


(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 50. S. Saba. West wall of present church (hall façade), interior face during excavations

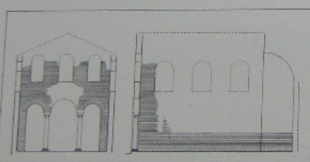
and southwest corners and the adjoining stretches of its side walls survive to the same height of roughly ten meters above the floor level of the basilica. For a length of nearly 3.5 m. they form the bottom parts of the end piers of the nave and, for almost 2 m. of this distance, the upper portions as well (figs. 49, 50). Below the basilica floor, the side walls of the hall continue for their entire original length up to the level of the basilica floor and support the first three columns of the basilica colonnades (pl. IV; figs. 48, 49). These side walls, however, differ from one another in construction. Up to the level of the original floor, the north wall of the hall (pl. IV; fig. 49) is built entirely of brick; above that level it consists of *opus listatum* that begins with regularly alternating courses of brick and tufa but soon turns to less consistent alternation (e. g., a band of three courses of *tufelli* above six courses of brick). Although the wall has not been excavated to its foundations, it can be established that the brickwork in the lower part continues down for at least one meter below the original floor level[1]. Horizontally coursed, with thick mortar beds, the brickwork of the north wall seems to date from the fourth century. The south wall, on the other hand, is based on rubble foundations only 0.55 m. below the hall floor level. Directly above the rubble, a single brick footing course projects a few centimeters from the general wall face; above that, alternating brick and tufa courses rise to the original floor level (fig. 50, left edge), and then the *opus listatum* becomes irregular like that of the north wall. From the different characters of the lower parts

[1] It is seen at that depth in the lateral passages which give access to the *loculi* of the cemetery.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 51. S. Saba. West wall of present church (hall façade and later alterations), interior face



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 52. S. Saba. Original hall, reconstruction of west and north façades

of the north and south walls, it is evident that on the north side the builders of the hall made use of the brick wall of an antecedent building.

The west wall — the main façade of the hall, still standing almost to its full original height — contained six openings: three large windows in the upper part and a triple archway below (figs. 50, 51)[1]. The triple arch rested on short lengths of wall at each end and on a pair of columns in the middle. The central arch was 3 m., the flanking arches 2 m. in diameter. While the column shafts and capitals have disappeared, the bases have remained *in situ*. Likewise, the hall floor no longer exists, but its level is shown by the two slabs of marble on which the column bases rest (figs. 53 a, b; 54 a, b). The arches of the triple entrance were

[1] Our illustration proves that Lestocquoy (*op. cit.*, p. 322 f.) was mistaken in supposing that the upper part of the wall differed from the lower part. The *opus listatum* clearly continues for the whole surviving elevation of the windows.

Analysis of the southern part of the west wall (east face):

A Southwest corner of the hall.

B Base of the south column of the triple arch and flagstone of the hall pavement.

C Foundation courses of the first filling wall which closed the triple arch. Being hidden beneath the oratory floor, it was roughly built of reused fragments.

D All that remains of the first filling wall above the oratory floor level; *opus listatum* with traces of plaster revetment. Underneath, the roughly built foundation courses which are the continuation of E, perhaps disturbed in the making of a grave.

E An area of neatly built brickwork which seems to be modern.

(Note: Walls C and D must have concealed the column base until it was revealed during Cannizzaro's excavations).

F. Access passage for the *loculi* at the southwest corner of the oratory.

G. End wall of the south row of *loculi* which occupied the foreground until they were removed during the excavations. The entrances to these *loculi* were on the south side of the central passage (see plate IV). The lower *loculi* still exist.

H. Filling wall of the second period, superceding wall D. It is all of brick with thick mortar joints and is coated with red painted plaster which bears the decoration of (?) robed figures.

J. Foundations of the west doorway to the basilica (A.D. 1205). At the bottom they are level with the former oratory floor.

K. Doorway of A.D. 1205.

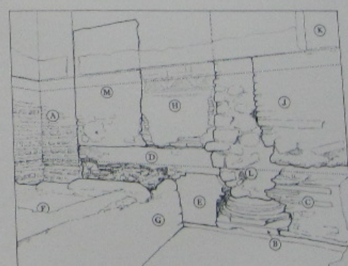
L. Concrete roughly packed into the space which was left when the column shaft was removed. It is clearly later than either H or J. Its irregular face suggests that it was put in while the basilica pavement was in existence. On the west side, L is neatly faced.

M. Doorway cut through H and subsequently blocked up.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 53*a*. S. Saba. South part of west wall, east face



(Drawing: Corbett)

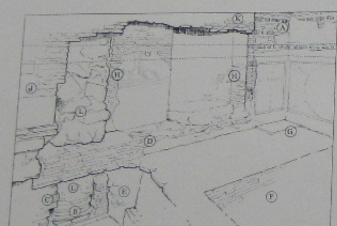
Fig. 53*b*. S. Saba. South part of west wall, east face, analysis

The two dotted lines near the top of the picture indicate the modern concrete floor which now sustains the basilica pavement. The dotted line lower down indicates the oratory floor level.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 54a. S. Saba. North part of west wall, east face



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 54b. S. Saba. North part of west wall, east face, analysis

Analysis of the northern part of the west wall (east face):

A. Northwest corner of the hall; *opus listatum* largely concealed by later plaster and painted decoration (Sergius Pictor, etc.).

B. Column base standing on the pavement of the hall.

C. Lower courses of the first filling wall which closed the triple arch; brick, *tufelli* and reused fragments of marble.

D. First filling wall above the level of the oratory floor. Four brick courses coated with plaster on which the base of the "hanging curtain" decorations can be seen. At the left hand end it enclosed the column which was subsequently removed from the west side.

E. Modern reinforcement.

F. Access passage for the *loculi* at the northwest corner of the oratory.

G. Surviving flagstone of the oratory floor; subsequently removed.

H. Filling wall of the second period, superceding wall D. It is all of brick, with thick, smooth mortar joints, and it includes a niche. The plaster to the left of the niche is decorated with figures exactly like the ones on the south side (Fig. 53*b*).

J. Foundations of the west doorway to the basilica (A.D. 1205).

K. West wall of the basilica (filling wall, third period) which did not extend below the basilica floor level.

L. Concrete roughly packed into the space left when the column shaft was removed; it is later than H or J. The shaft was removed from the west side and D was not broken.

The two dotted lines near the top of the picture represent the thickness of the modern concrete floor which supports the basilica pavement.

made with 60 cm. bricks, set nearly true to radius (figs. 50, 51, 52). The greater part of the middle arch has been cut out to make way for the cosmatesque doorway of the basilica, but its lowest voussoirs are seen on each side of the door frame. Above the triple entrance, three windows opened in the façade, each precisely on the center line of an arch. The middle window is 1.65 m., the side windows 1.45 m. wide; the window sills are 7.45 m. above the original floor level. The window heads have perished and could have been either segmental or semicircular. At present, the two side windows are blocked up, while the middle window, formerly also

blocked, has been reopened and provided with an arched head of later date [1]. The surviving jambs of the side windows show that this arch is below the level of the original window head.

Windows also opened in the side walls of the hall; the jamb of one and part of its arch survive near the west end of the north wall, incorporated in the campanile (figs. 49, 52). The sill was 10.45 m. above floor level; the height of the jamb from sill to arch springing is 2.30 m. The surviving arch bricks are too few for accurate calculation of the size of the window, but their shallow inclination suggests a width of about two meters. Further information on the side windows of the hall is provided by a large fragment of fallen masonry which was found beneath the basilica pavement. The fragment showed a worked face, apparently of a window jamb, at each end, and therefore must have stood formerly between two openings [2]. Hence its length (ca. 2.15 m., as measured on Cannizzaro's published reconstruction) should indicate the distance between two of the side windows. Cannizzaro thought each side wall had two pairs of twin windows with center columns, apparently basing this opinion on the fact that the fragment lay near the middle of the ruin. With such an arrangement, however, the window arches could have been no more than 1.80 m. in diameter, an opening too small to correspond with the inclination of the existing arch bricks of the first window. An alternate reconstruction with three single windows may thus be more satisfactory (fig. 52). Cannizzaro deduced that at least one of the two windows was subsequently walled up, because the painted decoration adhering to the fallen fragment extended beyond its limits.

The interior of the hall was originally lined with a thin coat of white plaster on which no trace of decoration appears; since this plaster extends below the oratory pavement, it no doubt belongs to the earlier hall (fig. 57). In one of Cannizzaro's photographs [3], plaster also appears on the side jambs of the upper windows in the west wall, concealed and protected by the secondary filling walls.

It is not clear whether the apse belonged to the original structure of the hall or was added later when the hall was transformed into the oratory. The outside face of the apse is hidden underneath the basilica floor and is thus inaccessible. The inner face is concealed by frescoes which make it impossible to examine the structure in detail; we can only say that it is built of *opus listatum*. Photographs taken during the excavations (fig. 55) unfortunately show a stage when the upper courses had already been consolidated with new masonry. However, at present fissures are still visible on each side of the apse where some plaster has fallen away (figs. 57, 58, 59); these seem at first to indicate that the masonry of the apse was added to that of the east wall, but close examination shows that the fissures are just as likely to be slots cut in the masonry to house metal cramps for the fixing of chancel screens. The axis of the apse does not lie in the exact center of the east wall. Although this might indicate that the apse was added later, other and perhaps more important elements suggest that the apse was part of the original structure. At the right hand springing of the apse, the white plaster of the east wall seems to curve around the arris of the apse shoulder before it disappears beneath the painted plaster which was laid on top of it (fig. 58). Another hint lies in

[1] The present arch probably dates from 1205, when the cosmatesque door frame was inserted. Before the masons made the relieving arch over the opening, they must have had to remove the filling wall of the middle window because, being independent of the original walls on each side of it, the filling wall would exert an intolerable load on the temporary supports. The light brick arch which we now see was inserted in its place to support the wall above. We know that there was formerly a filling wall in the middle window because of the marble-framed window which partly overlapped it. This marble-framed window must, therefore, be older than the cosmatesque doorway. It allowed a view of the interior of the basilica from the rooms over the narthex. Since exactly similar windows appear on the other side of the narthex, facing west, we conclude that the whole narthex and its upper rooms (though not, of course, the loggia) antedate the doorway which was made in 1205. In any event, the close resemblance between this narthex and the one at SS. Giovanni e Paolo (dated 1154) leaves little doubt that the narthex is about fifty years older than the doorway.

[2] Cannizzaro, *op. cit.*, 1903, p. 181. The fragment can no longer be located.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 179, fig. 2.


(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)
Fig. 55. S. Saba, Apse of oratory during excavations

the proportions of the apse: the opening occupies seventenths of the total width of the hall; this seems too small a ratio for a single-naved church building and too large for a church with aisles. Hence it seems more likely to us that the apse was a feature of the original hall and was probably secular in origin.

2. The oratory

a) Structure

When the hall was transformed into the building that we call the oratory, its floor level was raised 0.60 to 0.70 m. Below this new level a cemetery was laid out of a type unknown elsewhere in Rome. Over the entire area of the hall the ground was excavated to a depth of 1.00 m.; in this sunken space *loculi* were placed on either side of an axial passage, 1.10 m. wide and 1.70 m. high, which ran from east to west the full length of the building (pl. IV; figs. 56, 57, 58). The passage walls, built in rough brickwork, are interrupted at intervals of less than one meter by the openings of the *loculi*. These *loculi*, arranged in two and occasionally three tiers, lie at right angles to the passage, with their openings at the end, like compartments of a honeycomb. Each *loculus* is 2 m. long and about 75 cm. wide. The roofs of the upper layer are made of large tiles, pitched against one another *a cappucina*; the horizontal tile floor of this layer forms the roof of the layer below. The end of each *loculus* is closed by a vertical tile, sealed into position with mortar. Some closing tiles bear inscriptions painted in red in Greek and Latin, while on others inscriptions are roughly scratched on the sealing mortar, e. g., + HIC RQ IOHAN..C (?) and + HIC RQ GRATIOC..ANO (?)[1]. Six short passages resembling the long central passage lie at right angles to the sides of the oratory and serve similar *loculi* (pl. IV); in all, there are more than 120 graves. The spaces between the pitched roofs of the upper *loculi* are filled with rubble, and the marble slabs of the oratory floor were laid above them, thus sealing off the cemetery. Portions of the pavement survive at the two eastern corners of the oratory (figs. 57, 58), and smaller fragments near the northwest corner (fig. 54 a, b, at G). The floor, 60 to 70 cm. higher than that of the hall, sloped up slightly from west to east.

Another structural modification made to the hall during conversion into the oratory was the sealing or partial sealing of the openings in the west wall. In the upper story, two of the windows are blocked with *opus listatum*, very similar in appearance to the masonry of the original hall (figs. 50, 51). The blocking of the middle window has been removed, but its former existence is proved by a later marble-framed window which partly overlapped the opening. The original central opening must have still been blocked up when this window was made. In the lower story, walls were built across the three openings of the triple arch, at least to a height which would contain

[1] See above, dig. late VI or early VII century.

the raised structure of the oratory floor and the graves beneath it. Vestiges of these first filling walls survive in the lowest parts, near the oratory floor, while higher up they have been replaced by later walls; the early filling walls now stand only a few centimeters above the oratory floor level (figs. 53 a, b; 54 a, b), but traces of their painted decoration prove that they were formerly higher. On the side walls and in the apse, similar decoration rises 0.90 m. above floor level; we assume that the early filling walls of the triple arch were at least as high.


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 56. S. Saba. Loculi at northeast corner of oratory

For reasons unknown, the first filling walls of the lower story were subsequently replaced by other walls, set slightly west of the former wall face (figs. 53 a, b; 54 a, b, at C, D, H-H). The bricks of the early walls on both sides of the central archway are set in a hard, fine-textured lime mortar that is mixed with finely-ground *pozzolana;* the lime, when it is freshly broken, is pure white. The mortar used in the second period has much the same texture, but the color of the lime, a pinkish grey, is unmistakably different. The filling wall of the second period contained a niche, 1.00 m. wide, in the northern opening of the triple arch. The back of the niche bulged out from the wall face on the west side; the excrescence, still visible in 1900 (fig. 60), has now been cut away. On the east face the slightly projecting base of the niche lay 0.34 m. above the floor of the oratory, and the concrete profile shows that the protuberance was originally enclosed in some sort of curb. Above the level of the present basilica floor, the second-period filling wall of the northern arch has been replaced by an even later wall (in fig. 50 it is supported on a wooden post). In


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 57. S. Saba. Northeast corner of oratory showing gallery with loculi, oratory pavement, secondary doorway to side chapel D-D, and (right edge) springing of apse


(Photo: M. Ballance)
Fig. 58. S. Saba. Southeast corner of oratory and right hand shoulder of apse

the southern arch the second-period filling still rises almost to the arch springing. During the years when the oratory was still in use, a doorway was cut through the filling of the southern arch and subsequently walled up again. The masonry which fills the lunette of the southern arch differs from that below and thus suggests that the arch was once used as a semicircular window. As such, it would correspond in size and level with other windows farther south [1]. Below the basilica floor level, the central opening of the triple arch was obliterated by the foundations of the cosmatesque doorway (fig. 60). No doubt the main entrance to the oratory was located there. It is likely that this entrance was a doorway set into the blocking of the center opening of the triple arch; but the character of this door as well as of the blocking is unknown [2].



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 59. S. Saba. Left hand shoulder of springing of oratory apse, with traces of footings of chancel screen

b) Decoration

The oratory walls still show traces of frescoes (figs. 53a, 54a, 57, 58). The lower zone bore representations of hanging draperies. Above these, in rectangular fields, were Biblical subjects, saints, and other figures. The frescoes have been discussed amply by Wilpert and Styger [3], who agree in assigning the earlier paintings to the beginning of the eighth century and the latest to the end of the tenth. In the nave the " hangings " are frescoed immediately on top of the plain plaster of the original hall; in the apse they are painted over a coat of dark red painted plaster which, at the north shoulder of the apse, is seen to overlap the original white plaster covering of the hall (figs. 57, 59). If we assume that the drapery frescoes are all of one period, it follows that there was a time when the apse was frescoed dark red while the nave of the oratory was still coated with the plain plaster of the hall. But the frescoed draperies in the apse and nave are not necessarily contemporaneous, since those of the apse may have been copied from the nave. While these painted hang-



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 60. S. Saba. Main portal of present nave, remains of triple arch, and (bottom left) reverse face of niche in second-period filling wall during excavations, ca. 1900

[1] See below, p. 66.
[2] However, see below, p. 63 f.
[3] Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.; Styger, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

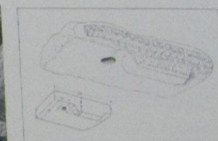
ings are found on the north, south and west walls of the nave and also in the apse, no painted decoration exists on the east walls of the nave flanking the apse, apart from the narrow zone on the left side where the early red fresco overlaps the corner (figs. 57, 58, 59). We do not know why painted decoration was absent on the east walls and can only suggest that these parts were concealed by some different, perhaps more precious material; the abrupt vertical edge of the first-period apse painting (fig. 60) suggests a revetment of marble or perhaps wooden panels.

Some traces of paintings on the second-period filling walls of the triple arch have hitherto escaped attention, or have been thought unworthy of notice. They are still faintly discernible, although much less so than when first excavated, and seem to represent the feet and lower skirts of a row of figures (figs. 53 b; 54 b, at H).

As noted above, the nave of the oratory was paved with slabs of white marble which covered the cemetery and spanned the corridors between the *loculi*. In the apse, Cannizzaro found traces



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 62. S. Saba. Fragment of door lintel

Fig. 61. S. Saba. Fragments of furnishings, including window pier (left) and door lintel (see figs. 62, 63, 64)

of *opus alexandrinum* [1]. They no longer exist, but the level of this pavement is still shown by the base of the wall plaster, one step of 0.16 m. above the main floor (fig. 60). The step coincided with a chancel screen whose base — a rubble core faced with vertical marble plates — partly survives. The screen stood forward 0.95 m. from the apse shoulder. Numerous fragments of early medieval carved marble transennae were recovered from the basilica in the course of the restorations, but not all of them belonged to the oratory. The chancel screen was only 7.5 m. long and must have had at least one opening; therefore, it could have consisted at most of four main transenna panels and two small panels in the projection at either end. On the other hand, the fragments of early medieval sculpture reused in the basilica pavement and extracted during the excavation (fig. 61) belong to at least seven different panels [2] and thus may have come from other churches. Indeed, we may imagine twelfth century Rome as the scene of a brisk trade in paving slabs from the early medieval chancel screens which were then being replaced by new screens in the cosmatesque style [3]. However, one important piece of early medieval sculpture now lying in the church portico (figs. 61, right edge; 62) must have belonged originally to the oratory; its cumbersome shape renders it useless as a paving slab, and its great weight suggests that it was not

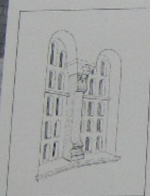
[1] Cannizzaro, *op. cit.*, 1903, p. 179.
[2] See *ibid.*, p. 183, figs. 6 and 7.
[3] See above, Vol. II, p. 301, n. 3.

moved far from its original position. It is a fragment of a lintel of white marble, still 1.20 m. long. The socket for the upper swivel pin of the door opens on the underside, 0.80 m. from the preserved end of the fragment; and since the socket must have been in the middle, the doorway was presumably about 1.60 m. wide. Its decoration shows a debased version of egg and dart molding at the base, followed by bead and reel and, at the top, a row of slanting crockets. The bead and reel terminates at a point which probably coincided with a vertical molding on the marble door post. A slight ridge on the soffit indicates the breadth of the door post. Since the lintel is too wide for a doorway leading into the side chapel[1], the most plausible location for it is the main doorway of the oratory, the traces of which have been obliterated by the present cosmatesque portal[2].



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 63. S. Saba. Pier, probably from double window in apse of oratory



(Drawing: Corbett)

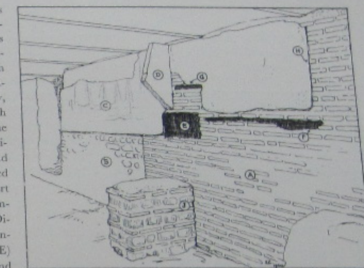
Fig. 64. S. Saba. Restoration of apse window

Another object from the ruins of the oratory is a heavy pier of white marble (fig. 63), 1.28 m. high and 0.53 by 0.25 m. in plan, carved on its narrow sides only with the traditional decoration of a column: torus, apophyge, shaft and astragal. A single leaf surmounted by abacus moldings represents the capital. The broad sides of the pier are undecorated and are finished with rougher tooling than the columnar faces. Both of the broad sides show a faint vertical ridge and a hole, while the top of the capital contains an oblong socket 0.07 m. deep and 0.25 m. by 0.05 m. in plan. The pier was discovered lying in or near the apse, and Cannizzaro thought that it was part of a chancel screen. From its large scale and coarse tooling, we think it was more likely the mullion of a two-light window; and we infer from its location in the ruin that it was at the center of the apse. The socket in the top would have held a dowel to secure an impost block, while the holes and vertical ridges in the side faces may indicate the fixing of transennae (fig. 64); this reconstruction, however, is hypothetical in everything except the center pier.

3. The side chapel

A doorway near the northeast corner of the oratory, roughly cut through the original north wall of the hall and subsequently blocked up again, led into a small chapel (pl. IV). The chapel still exists below the basilica floor and is accessible through a grating in the north aisle pavement. Part of the chapel's north wall (fig. 65, A) originally belonged to a brick structure, probably of the fourth century, which stands parallel to the north wall of the oratory at a distance of 2.40 m. The rest of the north wall (fig. 65, B) consists of roughly built *tufelli;* it also antedates the wall in its present form and originally composed the south flank of a kiln. The floor of the chapel was

[1] See below.
[2] See above, p. 62



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 65. S. Saba. North wall of chapel on left flank of oratory, viewed from southwest

removed during Cannizzaro's excavations, in order to expose Roman strata, but its level is indicated by the horizontal base of the plaster with which the chapel was decorated (C). As in the oratory, this plaster is painted with hanging draperies. One of the two transennae which divided the chapel into nave and chancel was an undecorated slab of polished marble; part of it (D) remains *in situ*, embedded in the side wall. Directly underneath the transennae, an oblong socket (E) seems to have housed the end of a chancel step, while east of it, a long horizontal slot (G) probably held the end of a marble shelf or bench standing against the back of the transenna. The east and west walls of the chapel have disappeared, but the position of the east wall is shown by the vertical edge of the plaster decoration on the north wall (H). Presumably, this marks the shoulder of an apse; otherwise, the chancel would have been too small. A cross wall of *opus listatum* (J) below the chapel floor may be an element surviving from the period of the early hall.

4. Other buildings adjacent to the oratory

An apse about three meters wide is embedded in the north end wall of the present narthex (pl. IV; fig. 48). It is sealed by a later cross wall, and almost everything behind this wall has been stripped away; indeed, the archivolt might be taken for a simple archway were it not for a short segment of the curved rear wall which survives in an opening beside the modern stairs that lead down to the excavations. This piece of curved brickwork forms part of a narrower modern niche, but the divergent curvature of the ancient material shows that it formerly had about the same radius as the archivolt above. The apse floor level cannot be identified, but the base of the curved rear wall is about 0.80 m. below the oratory floor level; thus, either the chamber to which the apse belonged was lower than the oratory, or what we see today was only the foundation wall of the apse. The archivolt above is composed of bricks 40 cm. long and set, though not true to radius, in smooth, slightly concave mortar beds. The apse shoulders are almost entirely missing, but such brickwork as remains shows a coursing modulus of five in 0.29 m., with mortar beds 28 to 30 mm. thick.

South of the triple arch, which opened in the façade of the oratory (previously of the hall), the east side of the present narthex is faced with a rubble wall (fig. 65, right edge). It is post-medieval in date, as can be seen at the southwest corner, where the rubble overlaps the *falsa cortina* of the short end wall of the narthex (pl. IV). The rubble masonry, only 0.16 m. thick, conceals a shallow recess (fig. 66). Within it is an older wall set back 0.30 m. behind the plane of the oratory-hall

façade. In the present twelfth century basilica, this older wall constitutes the end wall of the south aisle. The wall is built of brick with an occasional course of *tufelli* and revetted with painted plaster. The small portion that can be seen includes about one third of a semicircular window spanned by an archivolt of carelessly set 40 cm. bricks. The wooden window sill still exists, and the wall below it is decorated with a frescoed frieze of multicolored palmettes. In the zone above the window, the wall decoration represents ashlar masonry, outlined in white on a yellow ground. The window arch has the same diameter as the lateral arches of the triple arch and it springs at the same level; this suggests that the arches of the triple arch were at one time also transformed into windows [1]. Another arch, similar to the window arch which is now visible and in the same alignment, was observed inside the basilica at a time when the aisle end wall was bare of plaster [2]; the progress report mentions traces of a column which formerly supported the two arches [3]. If these traces were reported correctly, the windows were created by walling up an arcade. However, no photographs were taken and the question must remain unresolved until the aisle end wall can be examined again.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 66. S. Saba. South opening of triple arch seen from west and (right edge) part of additional arcade

A cemetery exists beneath the floor of the south aisle of the basilica. It seems to be an extension of the burial place inside the oratory, although there was no direct communication between the two. The south cemetery is no longer accessible, but the published notes and plans [4] indicate the existence of two rows of *loculi* similar to those inside the oratory, some communal graves, and eight reused classical sarcophagi. These latter are now exhibited in a museum north of the campanile. Near the middle of the south aisle, Cannizzaro's excavations revealed an irregular pavement of heavy slabs of marble, tufa and travertine, irregularly shaped and jointed; its purpose is unknown.

5. The basilica

The basilica later replaced the oratory. It is outside the scope of this work, and we discuss it only to the extent that it relates to the older structures. The new floor level was set 1.40 m. higher than that of the oratory, while the side walls of the oratory, except the west end of the north

[1] See above, p. 60.
[2] Bacci, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 155 ff.
[3] Cannizzaro, *op. cit.*, 1903, p. 181.
[4] Cannizzaro and Gavini, *loc. cit.*, 1901, 1902.

wall, were cut down to serve as foundations for the first three columns on each side of the new nave. Foundations in prolongation of the oratory walls were added for the other columns. The oratory apse was cut and its remains concealed beneath the basilica floor. The west wall of the nave incorporates the greater part of the façade of the oratory, that is, of the original hall. The extraordinarily long end piers at the west end of the basilica colonnades, measuring 3.50 m. from the corners of the nave to the jamb of the first arch, must be the result of the builders' wish to include in the fabric of the basilica as much as possible of the former building.

The north aisle of the basilica overlaps the adjacent chapel and the Roman structures beyond it. The aisle is 5 m. wide and the south walk of an adjacent Romanesque cloister has been added to it by the removal of the dividing wall, thus creating an additional aisle [1]. The south aisle, likewise 5 m. wide, is bounded to the west by the painted wall with semicircular windows noted above, and to the south by a monastic building, originally Romanesque, but extensively rebuilt in recent years.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

We do not have enough material to attempt a reconstruction of the classical buildings on the site of S. Saba nor is such an attempt within the scope of our work. We only note the presence of a long wall of *opus reticulatum* traversing the basilica from side to side, passing between the sixth and seventh columns of the nave [2]. Brick walls which appear to have the character of fourth century construction stand parallel and at right angles to the reticulate wall in the area of the left hand aisle; one of these brick walls has been incorporated into the north wall of the chapel which adjoins the oratory to the north (fig. 64). This chapel wall also contains the wall of an ancient kiln.

1. The hall

The hall which followed these Roman buildings was lofty and spacious; it was entered at the western end through a triple archway. Three windows over the triple arch and a number of windows in the side walls (fig. 50) lit the interior. The room measured approximately 35 by 45 R. ft. internally, and its walls were 2 R. ft. thick. The window arches of the side walls sprang at a level 30 R. ft. above the floor; those of the west wall sprang from a slightly higher level, but the total height of the building is unknown. The apse measured a little over 11½ R. ft. in radius, and we suggest tentatively that it was part of the original construction of the hall. However, we do not preclude the possibility that it was added later.

2. The oratory

In the course of time the hall was modified to create the oratory. The triple arch was partly walled up, leaving a doorway in the middle and possibly lunette windows in the side arches (fig. 51). The three western windows were blocked, as were some of the openings in the side walls. The

[1] Bacci, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 161 ff., and after him, Lestocquoy, *op. cit.*, p. 313 ff.
[2] For photo, see Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, no. 7007.

floor level was raised about 0.60 m., and a burial ground comprising about 120 brick-built *loculi* was created beneath the pavement of marble slabs (pl. IV; figs. 56, 57, 58). If the apse did not already exist, it was built when the oratory came into being; its *opus alexandrinum* floor rose one step higher than the main part of the pavement, and a chancel transenna of unknown height projected into the body of the oratory. A two-light window (fig. 64) may have occupied the center of the apse wall.

In addition to the *loculi* beneath the oratory floor, numerous graves were dug to the south, in the area where the south aisle of the basilica was subsequently built [1]. This part of the cemetery was bounded on the north by the wall of the oratory (there was no communicating doorway) and on the west by a wall with semicircular windows that stood nearly in line with the arcaded west wall of the oratory. Painted plaster adorned the west face of this wall, but we do not know whether this was the outside or inside face — in other words, whether the southern group of graves was covered or *sub divo*. Some of the graves were arranged, like the *loculi* of the oratory, in rows on each side of a passage; others were individual burials in reused classical sarcophagi.

Two smaller buildings attached to the north side of the oratory were presumably linked to it in function and were possibly contemporary in construction. The first was a narrow chapel, approached through a doorway in the north wall of the oratory. The chapel, 2.60 m. wide and about 7.5 m. long, terminated at the east end in what we assume was an apse; a transenna separated the body of the chapel from the space in front of the apse, which presumably contained an altar or a table for offerings (fig. 64). The second structure was an apse, 3.30 m. wide, which faced south and bounded the area outside the central entrance at a distance of 4 m. from the northwest corner of the oratory. We are not sure whether it is contemporary with or later than the oratory, but the base of the apse corresponds approximately with the oratory floor level and it seems reasonable to associate the two structures; presumably the apse belonged to a chapel which stood on the left side of the oratory entrance. The presence of an apsed chamber in this position is noteworthy, since it brings the Roman S. Saba into a large group of churches sharing this feature; they occur all over the Greek-speaking coastlands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

In a second phase of development, the walls which had sealed up the lateral openings of the triple arch to form the west wall of the oratory were cut down almost to the level of the oratory pavement and rebuilt a few centimeters west of this former alignment. A niche of 1.00 m. wide was made in the blocking masonry of the north arch. Since the reverse side of this niche bulged out from the west face of the wall (fig. 60), it seems that the south wall of the apsed chapel to the left of the oratory entrance stood farther north; the chapel plan would otherwise have been disfigured by the convexity.

3. The Basilica

We do not know why the oratory was dismantled to give place to the basilica, but some of its surviving walls appear to have been devoutly preserved, even at the expense of giving the basilica an unusual plan; the exceptionally long end piers of the nave colonnades imply deliberate conservation. The basilica still exists and needs no further discussion. Apart from its end piers it was a straightforward three-aisled basilica, 95 R. ft. long, 70 R. ft. in overall width, its nave 35 R. ft. wide and about 50 R. ft. high. At the east are three apses, integral with the rest of the structure. A columned narthex with chambers in an upper story shelters the western doorway.

[1] Cannizzaro and Gavini, *op. cit.*, 1902, p. 465 ff.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The only evidence for the date of the original hall is the rather poor quality of the *opus listatum*, which suggests a late period, probably the late fourth or fifth century. We have, however, no indication whether the hall originally was the secular reception hall of a wealthy *domus* or a religious building, possibly the private oratory of a Christian house. Indeed, if it was originally secular, it may have served a Christian congregation for a time without being altered. However, there is no way either to prove or to disprove this hypothesis.

The first definite indication of religious use is the remodeling of the hall to create what we have called the oratory. The construction of *loculi* beneath the new floor of the oratory, the form of these *loculi*, and their inscriptions suggest that this remodeling was undertaken by a Greek-speaking monastic congregation which presumably came from the Holy Land before the middle of the seventh century or perhaps earlier. The end-opening *loculus*, as a rule unknown in Rome [1], was a common form of burial in the vicinity of Jerusalem [2]. Concomittantly the epitaphs on these *loculi*, some written in Greek and the majority giving Greek names, and the document referring in 649 to an abbot " from the great Lavra of Saint Sabas near the Holy City in the desert " [3] jointly suggest that by then the hall had been taken over and remodeled for worship and burial by monks from the Holy Land. They may have been driven thence either by the Islamic conquest in 640 or perhaps by the earlier Persian occupation in 614. Indeed, if the inscriptions on the *loculi* could be dated securely from the turn of the seventh century [4], the arrival of the first Sabaite monks would antedate even the Persian occupation; but in our opinion judgment should be suspended. In any event, the Sabaite congregation, presumably by the middle of the seventh century, built the *loculi* graveyard into the hall, raised the floor level to make room for these graves, blocked up some of the windows of the hall, closed the side openings of the triple arch and replaced the central opening by a doorway. They also constructed a rectangular chapel to the north and presumably built the apsed chapel to the right of the entrance. All this work can reasonably be assigned to the mid-seventh century. Later changes to the oratory, when the necropolis was extended south and the western filling walls were reconstructed, seem to include brickwork of perhaps ninth century date, but not enough remains to allow certainty.

The present basilica dates obviously much later. The brick courses are laid horizontally; the wall faces are vertical; and the mortar beds are thick, giving ten courses a height of 0.66 m., or a modulus of 4½ courses to the Roman foot. At infrequent intervals, courses of tufelli are introduced in place of brick. This kind of masonry is comparable with much that was built in Rome throughout the twelfth century. Close analogies are found at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, which was consecrated in 1191, and in the church of S. Prisca, about 1100 [5]. Thus the transfer of the monastery of S. Saba to the Cluniac congregation in 1145 may well furnish the date for the construction of the church [6]. Moreover, the narthex and its upper story are datable to the middle of the twelfth century by the close analogy at SS. Giovanni e Paolo [7]. Half a century later the finishing touches were put to the building by the insertion of the cosmatesque door frame, dated 1206.

[1] Bacci, *op. cit.*, 1907, p. 15, n. 2, refers to the discovery in 1603 of similar graves at S. Gregorio Magno; see also Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 144.
[2] Macalister, " The Rock-cut Tombs in Wady Er-Rababi, Jerusalem ", *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 225 ff.; 1901, pp. 145 ff., 215 ff.
[3] See above, digs. late VI or early VII century and 649; also Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 281 ff.
[4] See above, dig. late VI or early VII century.
[5] See above, Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. III, p. 270 f.
[6] See above, dig. 1145.
[7] See above, Vol. I, p. 299.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

Apsed halls such as that incorporated into the oratory and, in part, into the basilica of S. Saba are well known in both public and domestic Roman architecture. Sometimes freestanding and sometimes incorporated into the overall plan of a building complex, the public ones served as the audience halls of magistrates or of the emperor while the private ones were reception rooms in wealthy Roman *domus*. In Rome itself, examples of the latter type are the Basilica of Junius Bassus, the basilica of the *domus Cilonis*, now S. Balbina, the hall at S. Lucia in Selci, the hall which was incorporated into SS. Quattro Coronati, and presumably the basilica *ad duas domus* at the core of S. Susanna [1]. From this short list it is clear that, more often than not, such halls became the meeting rooms of Christian congregations after acquisition by the Church. The change in use, some time between the fourth and the seventh centuries, might or might not entail changes in decoration, furnishings or structure. In the Basilica of Junius Bassus, a Christian apse mosaic was provided when in 476 it became S. Andrea in Catabarbara; in the *titulus Quattuor Coronarum*, a set of chancel screens and a mosaic pavement were installed, possibly at the time of Honorius I; similarly, at S. Saba, the floor level was raised, the *loculi* were laid out underneath, and two apsed chapels were added, one on the north flank and accessible from inside the oratory and the other on the left side of the entrance.

Apparently both changes were wrought by a monastic congregation that had been expelled from the convent of S. Saba near Jerusalem and had settled in Rome some time before the middle of the seventh century. The changes are closely linked to the funeral and liturgical customs of the Eastern coastlands of the Mediterranean. The arrangement of tombs in several layers with their foot ends opening from a central passage is fairly common in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, and variations of the system are also found in Sicily and Naples, both of which were dependent on Near Eastern customs. The side rooms, installed by the Palestinian monks when transforming the hall into their oratory, are equally characteristic of and closely linked with Eastern liturgical customs. Apsed chapels beside the entrance to a church and accessible from outside were frequent in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean coastlands and the Hellenized trade centers inland. Examples from the fifth and sixth centuries [2] are found in Epirus, Attica, Thessaly, the Greek islands, on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, and also in Jordan and Cyrenaica. They either are placed (as at S. Saba) to one side of the entrance or they flank the atrium or else they face the atrium and stand parallel to the axis of the church. They frequently have apses but are sometimes simply rectangular or square rooms. Their liturgical purpose is debatable; but inscriptions [3], traces of offering tables [4], the iconography of the pavement mosaics [5], and the text of the early sixth century *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* [6], all suggest that they were *diaconica* which

[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 62 ff., 82 ff.; Vol. II, p. 186 f.; above, pp. 22, 27 f. and below, p. 271.

[2] Examples are at Nikopolis, basilicas A, Δ, E (SOTIRIOU, *Hai Palaiochristianikai Basilikai tēs Hellados*, Athens, 1930, p. 206 f.; *To Ergon 1961*, Athens, 1962, p. 107 ff.; PALLAS, "Scoperte archeologiche in Grecia", *R. A. C.* 35 (1959, p. 196 ff.); Brauron (STIKAS, "Anaskaphe... para tēn Vravrona", *Praktika 1951*, 1952, p. 53 ff.; *ibid. 1952*, 1953, p. 73 ff.); Nea-Anchialos, basilicas A, B, Δ (SOTIRIOU, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *To Ergon 1960*, Athens, 1961, p. 81 ff.); Emporio on Chios; Gül-Bagtche (WEBER, "Basilika und Baptisterium in Gül-bagtsche", *B. Z.* 10 [1901], p. 568 ff.); Korykos Cathedral (HERZFELD and GUYER, *Meriamlik und Korykos* [Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, II], Manchester, 1930, p. 94 ff.); Gerasa: Cathedral, St. Theodore, St. Procopius, SS. Peter and Paul (CROWFOOT, in: *Gerasa*, ed. KRAELING, New Haven, 1938, p. 176 ff. and *passim*); Apollonia, Western Church (GOODCHILD, *Cyrene and Apollonia*, London, 1959, p. 82).

[3] Gerasa, Propylaia church (CROWFOOT, *op. cit.*, p. 228 f.).

[4] Nea-Anchialos, basilica A (SOTIRIOU, *op. cit.*, p. 206 f.).

[5] Nikopolis, basilica Δ (*Ergon 1961*, *op. cit.*, p. 107 f.).

[6] *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, ed. IGNATIUS EPHRAEM II RAHMANI, Mainz, 1899, p. 23. The pertinent passages, chap. 19, have been reprinted, among others by KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, Paderborn, 1905, p. 151; by LIESENBERG, *Der Einfluss der Liturgie auf die frühchristliche Basilika*, Neustadt a. d. Haardt, 1928, p. 46 ff.; and in English translation by CROWFOOT, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ff.

served as vestries, treasure chambers, repositories for the scriptures and rooms where the congregation made offerings at the beginning of Mass. The Scriptures were solemnly brought into the church from the *diaconicon* during the *Missa catechumenorum*. In the *diaconicon*, at least in the fifth and in part of the sixth centuries, the elements of the Eucharist were kept apart from the other offerings and prepared, in the rite of the *prothesis*, for transfer to the altar; finally, the remains of the consecrated Host were returned to and kept in the *diaconicon* [1]. Only in the course of the sixth century were the latter functions, starting with the *prothesis*, transferred to a separate chamber of *prothesis* beside the chancel; and eventually the *diaconicon* was also transferred to a corresponding position on the opposite side of the chancel.

The arrangement of the oratory at S. Saba seems to mark an intermediate stage of this transition. If the chapel in front of the entrance can be tentatively interpreted as a *diaconicon* of the Eastern Greek type, the apsed chapel beside the north wall of the oratory would seem to have been a *prothesis* chamber. Indeed, similar rooms in similar postions, apsed, divided by chancel screens, and provided with tables either for offerings or for the *prothesis* rite, are found in the course of the sixth century, in the very territories where *diaconica* had formerly been placed near the entrance. Examples are found attached to the transept of Basilica B at Philippi and in the church on Mount Nebo [2]. Whether they served as both *diaconicon* and *prothesis*, or only in the latter capacity, they certainly anticipate the development of the separate *prothesis* and *diaconicon*. In any event, it seems that the Sabaite monks, establishing themselves in Rome before the middle of the seventh century, introduced both *diaconicon* and *prothesis*, placing the former in front of the façade, according to the long established oriental Greek usage, and the latter beside the sanctuary, following a newly introduced custom. S. Saba thus illustrates the penetration into Rome of Eastern liturgical and architectural concepts as practiced by an immigrant monastic community.

[1] BANDMANN, "Über Pastophorien und verwandte Nebenräume", *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, p. 19 ff.; PALLAS, *Hē thalassa tēs Ekklēsias*, Athens, 1952, *passim*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54 ff.; p. 119 ff.

S. SABINA

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DARSY, *Bibliographie chronologique des études publiées sur les portes de Sainte-Sabine*, Rome, 1954.
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B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS[1]

Libro di tutta la spesa fatta da NS. Papa Sisto V a Santa Sabina, 16 Febb. 1587, Rome, Vatican Archives, AA. Arm. B. 15 (excerpts in MUÑOZ, 1938, p. 43 ff.).
UGONIO, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 1993, f. 48 (44); 1994, ff. 216 (413), 299 (573); 2161, f. 87^{v} f.
UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 8 ff.
ROSSI, *Descriptio aliquot ecclesiarum*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11904, f. 16 ff.
Relatione della Chiesa e convento di S. Sabina ... 1647, Macerata, Bibl. Comunale, Ms. 5.3.B.7 (with addition, dated 1729-30; transcribed by RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.).
BRUZIO, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis*, t. XVI, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11885, f. 85.
Notizie del convento e della chiesa di Santa Sabina in Roma, Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, ms. 3209.
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Notizie storiche delle chiese e convento di Santa Sabina martire in Roma, 1775 (CANCELLIERI, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 9167, p. 254 ff; excerpted by BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 531 ff.).
STEVENSON, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat lat. 10553, f. 68 f.
PESARINI, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 13128, f. 407 f.

[1] DARSY, 1961, p. 155 f., lists some further manuscript descriptions which are not included here.

II. Ancient illustrations.

1474 Anonymous, View of church from south, pen and ink; Map of Rome, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Red. 77 (De Rossi, *Piante*, pl. 4; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pianta LXXXIX, pl. 159).

ca. 1483 Anonymous, Plan of church with measurements and proposals for alterations, ink and sepia wash; Spada volumes, I, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 11257, f. 178 (our fig. 70)[1].

1534—1538 Anonymous, Schematic view of church, fresco; Map of Mantua, probably from prototype of before 1483 (De Rossi, *Piante*, pl. 7/8; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pianta XCVII a, pl. 167).

1550—1557 Anonymous, Distant view of church, pen and ink; copy after Anton van der Wyngaerde, Panorama of Rome, Oxford, Bodleian Library (Egger, *Veduten*, II, pl. 109).

1551 Bufalini, Plan of church, convent and other buildings, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911).

1588 Fra Santi, View of right flank of church, woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 66v.

1588—1590 Workshop of Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia, Interior of S. Sabina looking east, with Sixtus V enthroned in the apse, fresco; Vatican Library (Pastor, *Sisto V*, Rome, 1922, p. 45 ff.).

1593 Tempesta, View of church from northeast, woodcut; Urbis Romae Prospectus (ed. Schück, Stockholm, 1915; republished, map of 1606, ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932).

1625 Maggi, View of church and cloister from east, woodcut; Maggi-Maupin-Losi, Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1915).

1640-1650? Borromini or workshop, Plan of church with measurements, pencil; Vienna, Albertina, IT. AZ 250 (our fig. 71).

1676 Falda, View of church, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Danesi, Rome, 1960; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, CLVIII, 5, pl. 362).

1690 Ciampini, Views of original mosaic decoration, including parts now lost, on triumphal arch and spandrels and on inner face of west façade wall, engravings; *Vetera Monimenta*, I, 1690, pl. 47 f.

1748 Nolli, Plan of church and convent, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV*, Vatican City, 1932).

1756 Vasi, View of S. Sabina from the northeast, engraving; *Le magnificenze di Roma*, VII, *Conventi*, Rome, 1756, pl. 129.

1804—1816 Uggeri, Interior view, facing entrance, engraving; *Édifices ... reparés par Pie VII depuis l'an 1801 jusqu'au 1816*, Rome n.d. (Muñoz, 1938, p. 21).

1808—1811 Ingres, Views of south flank and south porch, pencil; Montauban, Musée Ingres (Naef, *Rome vue par Ingres*, Lausanne, 1960, pl. 61-63, cat. 95-97).

1817 Cipriani, View of façade and atrium, engraving; *Degli edifici antichi e moderni di Roma*, Rome, 1817.

1819 Knapp, Plan of church, engraving; Bunsen, Gutensohn and Knapp, *Basiliken*, pl. 8, fig. A (also in Bunsen, Gutensohn and Knapp, *Monumenti dell'antico culto cristiano*, Rome, 1840, pl. 24).

1821—1845 Letarouilly, Plan of church and convent, engraving; *Edifices*, II, pl. 152.

1829 Rossini, Views of S. Sabina in a panorama of Rome, and of church and convent in a general view of the Aventine, engravings; *I sette colli*, Rome, 1829, pls. 18, 28.

1843 Rossini, Plan and view of interior toward apse, engravings; *Scenografia degl'interni delle più belle chiese ...*, Rome, 1843, pls. 11, 19 (Darsy, 1961, p. 90, fig. 15).

1843 Canina, Plan and view of interior toward apse, engravings; *Tempi Cristiani*, 1843, pl. 22 f.; 1846, pl. 50 f.

1855 Fontana, Plan of church, views of nave from west, entrance portico looking north and cloister, engravings; *Chiese di Roma*, I, pl. 28-30.

1862 Hübsch, Plan, longitudinal and cross sections of church, view of interior toward apse, engravings; *Altchristliche Kirchen*, pl. 7, fig. 6; pl. 9, fig. 9-11; pl. 38.

ca. 1870 Parker, interior and apse, photograph; British School in Rome, library, 4°, no. 323.

ca. 1900 Exterior from south, photograph; Anderson, no. 2834.

1915 Interior of church and details before restorations, photographs; Soprintendenza ai monumenti del Lazio, Archivio fotografico (Muñoz, 1938, pl. 18, figs. 1, 2; pl. 19, fig. 1; pl. 20, figs. 1-4; pl. 22, fig. 1).

ca. 1919 Interior of church after restorations of 1914-1919, photograph; Alinari, no. 6225 (Darsy, 1961, p. 93, fig. 16).

[1] See below, p. 80, and dig. 1483-1484; see also Vol. III, pp. 3 and n. 2, 48, and fig. 50.

C. DATES

79—135 A.D. Brick stamps dating from the time of Domitian to 135 A.D., found in second use in the apse arch (Darsy, 1961, p. 23).

422—440 The presbyter Petrus of Illyria founds the church during the pontificate of Celestine I, 422-432, as recorded in mosaic inscriptions on inner face of west façade:

CVLMEN APOSTOLICVM CVM CAELESTINVS HABERET
PRIMVS ET IN TOTO FVLGERET EPISCOPVS ORBE
HAEC QVAE MIRARIS FVNDAVIT PRESBYTER VRBIS
ILLYRICA DE GENTE PETRVS VIR NOMINE TANTO
DIGNVS AB EXORTV CHRISTI NVTRITVS IN AVLA
PAVPERIBVS LOCVPLES SIBI PAVPER QVI BONA VITAE
PRAESENTIS FVGIENS MERVIT SPERARE FVTVRAM

(Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 291; Diehl, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 347, no. 1778 *a*). Under Sixtus III, 432-440, Petrus, now called a bishop, is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* as having built the church and a baptistery: "*Et huius temporibus fecit Petrus episcopus basilicam in urbe Roma sanctae Savinae, ubi et fontem construxit*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 235).

499 At the Roman synod under Pope Symmachus, the presbyters Abundantius and Victorinus sign as "*tituli Sabinae*", the presbyter Valens as "*tituli sanctae Sabinae*" (*M.G.H.*, *Auct. ant.*, XII, p. 411 ff.).

V or early VI cent. Epitaph of Basilius, "*presbyter tituli Sabine*", later reused in the pavement of S. Paolo f.l.m. (Diehl, *Inscriptiones*, I, no. 1143; Marucchi, "Il cimitero di Commodilla e la basilica cimiteriale dei SS. Felice ed Adautto", *N.B.A.C.* 10 [1904], p. 92).

595 Placitus, "*presbyter tituli Sanctae Savinae*", attends the Roman synod (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 367).

590—604 Reference is made to a garden "*in regione prima, ante gradus sanctae Sabinae*" (Gregory the Great, *Epistolae*, II, 4 [Migne, *P.L.*, 77, col. 540 f.; also, *M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 108 f.])

600 Gregory I mentions Felix, "*presb. tituli sanctae Sabinae*", in a letter addressed to the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, II, p. 275 f.).[1]

795—816 In 796[2] Leo III restores the basilica: "*titulo sanctae Sabine studiose renovavit*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 2). Throughout his pontificate he makes rich donations to the church: five large and two smaller silver crowns (*L.P.*, II, pp. 2, 20, 25), lighting fixtures ("*canistra exafoti, gabathas interrasiles*"; *L.P.*, II, p. 2), textiles (*L.P.*, II, pp. 2, 9, 11, 12), including one with the Resurrection represented in the center (*L.P.*, II, p. 31), and one large curtain "*in gremio basilicae*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 27).

824—827 Eugenius II, arch presbyter at S. Sabina before his elevation to the papacy, decorates the church with paintings: "*Tenuit autem presbiteratus sui tempore ecclesiam beatae Savinae ... quam, Deo dispensante, post pontificalem sibi attributam gratiam ad meliorem cultum perduxit et picturis undique decoravit*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 69; see also Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, I, p. 188: "[Eugenius] *picturis illam ornavit, quarum vestigia super columnarum epistylia videntur*". He sets up a silver ciborium ("*cybureum ex argento purissimo*") (*L.P.*, II, p. 69) and a bronze gate in the chancel screen, inscribed "*in grosse lettere EVGENIVS SECVNDVS PAPA ROMANVS*" (Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 10; Rossi, *ms. cit.*, f. 16 f.). He also transfers to the high altar relics of a prelate Alexander, of one Theodolus, and of a martyr, Eventius, as recorded in an inscription of the tenth or eleventh century:

SUMMA PAPATUS EUGENIUS ARCE LOCATUS
CORPUS ALEXANDRI PRAESULIS EGREGII
NEC NON THEODOLI SIMUL ET TE MARTYR EVENTI
JUXTA SAVINAM SERAPHIAMQUE PIAM
AEDE SUB HAC POSUIT... (Berthier, 1910, p. 289; Darsy, 1961, p. 112 f.).

1222 Honorius III (1216-1227), in a bull dated June 5, 1222, cedes the basilica and the adjoining buildings to the Dominican Order; the baptistery and its adjacent garden are specifically

[1] The mid-seventh century reference in the *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae* to an "*ecclesia... sanctae Sabinae martiris*" refers to a building on the Via Portuensis, on the west bank of the Tiber, "*in occidentali parte Tiberis*" (Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 90 f.; De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 138 ff.), and thus not to the basilica on the Aventine.

[2] Hülsen, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922), p. 110.

excluded, indicating it was a separate building and still intact (*Bullarium ordinis praedicatorum*, I, ed. BREMOND, Rome, 1729, p. 15, no. 29; *Regesta Honorii papae III*, ed. PRESSUTI, II, Rome, 1895, no. 4024); UGONIO (*Stationi*, c. 10) attributed to the pontificate of Honorius the building of a screen wall across the width of the church (see dig. 1238), but without giving his reasons.

1238 Gregory IX assisted by three cardinals and a bishop dedicates an altar placed against the screen wall which had been built across nave and aisles, as well as four side altars in the front part of the church: "[the church] *era per il mezzo divisa in due parti con un muro alto circa 12 palmi che attraversava tutte tre le navi per il largo* ... [and] *al tempo di Gregorio Nono ... furono fatti cinque altari nuovi nella parte anteriore ... de quali il maggiore che vedevamo appoggiato al sodetto muro nel mezzo consacrò Gregorio Nono personalmente e gli altri quattro fece consacrare da quattro Cardinali. Di questa consacratione ne è scolpita la memoria in una tavola di marmo ... già quivi appresso affissa ed hora da un canto dell'altar maggiore* ..." (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 10 f.; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 294, no. 590).

1248 The Cardinal of Ostia consecrates an altar, dedicated to the angels, in a chapel attached to the eastern part of the south aisle, the Capella degli Angeli (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 294, no. 591; DARSY, 1961, p. 35).

1263 Urban IV dedicates a chapel to Saint Peter Martyr, perhaps at the east end of the north aisle (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 295, no. 592; DARSY, 1961, p. 35).

1441 Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini repairs the church, as recorded in an inscription on a corner of the apse: "*in un canto della Tribuna* ... '*Anno D. 1441 reparata est ecclesia ista per reverendum dominum Julianum de Caesarinis cardinalem hujus ecclesiae*'" (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 12; IDEM, *Schedario*, Barb. lat. 1993, f. 44). The arms of Cesarini were seen "*in piu luoghi*" (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 12); one, though damaged, may survive over the south aisle door (BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 101).

1483—1484 Cardinal Valentine Auxia de Podio (di Poggio del Monte), 1477-1483, donates the Chapel of the Madonna del Rosario and is buried in 1484 in a sepulchre to the right of its entrance. (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 9; and FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 301, no. 604; see also DARSY, 1961, p. 37).

1559—1560 The title cardinal Otto Truchsess repairs the upper part of the apse and commissions Taddeo Zuccari to execute the fresco in its vault (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 11; see also RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 24: "*Si fà il volto alla capella maggiore e ... la pittura nel nicchio* ..."; and inscription, "*Otto Truchses ... presb. card ... vetustate absidem collapsam restituit et ornavit MDLIX*", lost but quoted in BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 357 f., n. 3)[1].

1586—1587 Sixtus V appoints Domenico Fontana to carry out an extensive restoration of the basilica. Twenty of the twenty-six clerestorey windows are walled up; the wooden coffered ceiling is replaced by an open timber roof; the apse windows are blocked and covered by frescoes; the *schola cantorum* and chancel screens of Eugenius II are removed, as are the screen wall, the altar attached to that wall, and the two ambos, all of medieval date; the high altar is moved to the apse, raised on steps, and a crypt is laid out beneath; the pavement is renewed (*Libro di tutta la spesa* ..., *ms. cit.*, quoted in MUÑOZ, 1938, p. 43 ff.). UGONIO, *Stationi*, mentions the removal of the "*due pulpiti di marmo ... appoggiati al muro ... il quale divideva la Chiesa*" (c. 9); the demolition of "*incrostature di varie pietre ... di qual lavoro habbiamo visti rovinosi vestigij nella Tribuna* ..." (c. 8v, 9); the transfer of the "*Altare antico postovi sotto l'istessa Tribuna*" (c. 9v); the removal of the "*ingombramento che mozzava la Chiesa in due parti*" and of the altar attached to this screen wall (c. 10v; *see* also above, dig. 1238); the erection of the new high altar "*allontanandolo dalla Tribuna per tanto spazio quanto è necessario acciò il sommo Pontefice nel mezzo ed intorno i Cardinali possino sedere* ..." (c. 11); the placing, below this altar, of a "*Cappelletta sotterranea alla quale per undici gradi ... si scende*" sheltering an altar of Saint Dominic (c. 11); and the repair of the pavement "*che è di tavole grandi di marmo bianco*" (*ibid.*; see also RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 33 f.). At the end of the same campaign, and certainly prior to 1590, three round windows are inserted into the façade of the nave: "*si fanno le invetriate alli tre ochi della chiesa*" (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 37). An inscription of Sixtus V summing up the work was formerly read on the right wall of the apse:

"SIXTUS V. PONT. MAX.
ECCLESIAM HANC INTERMEDIO PARIETE
RUINOSOQ. TECTORIO SUBLATIS

[1] In later repaintings of the inscriptions, the date was changed to 1559 (BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910).

PAVIMENTO STRATO GRADIBUS
ERECTIS PICTURIS AD PIETATEM
ACCOMODATIS ALTARIQ. UNA CUM
SACRIS MARTYRVM ALEXANDRI
PAPAE EVENTII THEODOLI SABINAE ET
SERAPHINAE RELIQVIIS OB STATIONARIAS
PONTIFICIASQ. MISSAS CELEBRANDAS
TRANSLATO IN HANC
FORMAM RESTITVIT
ANNO PONTIFICATUS II"

(FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, p. 306, no. 621; UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 11v). At the same time, a station is re-established at S. Sabina (See PANIGAROLA, *De SS. Stationum veteri institutione a Xisto quinto revocato* ..., Rome, 1587).

1589—1601 A choir loft is inserted between the two westernmost nave columns and, as an afterthought, supported by two small columns: "*1589 Si fà il choro nuovo ... 1601 Le due colonne che sostentano il choro furono comprate ... e le basi. Allo stuccatore del choro ... scudi 8*" (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 41).

1599—1600 The Chapel of Saint Hyacinth (now of Saint Imelda) is built adjoining the right aisle, between the Capella degli Angeli and Cardinal Cesarini's porch (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 40), and Federigo Zuccari frescoes its vault (for inscription in fresco, see BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 300, n. 1; see also TITI, *Ammaestramento di Pittura*, p. 50).

1625 The paintings executed under Eugenius II (see above, dig. 824-827) are rediscovered above the arcades of the nave: "... *si ritrovano le pitture sopra le colonne della chiesa e gli archi* ..." (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 49; CIAMPINI, quoted above, dig. 824-827).

1643—1647 Replacing the old Capella degli Angeli, the Chapel of Saint Dominic is built against the right aisle and decorated (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 53 f.; see also above, dig. 1248).

1671 The Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena is built adjoining the middle of the left aisle (BERTHIER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 398 ff.).

1683 The title cardinal Thomas Howard of Norfolk opens some of the blocked nave windows and repairs the mosaic on the west façade; in the course of the work the last remnants of the mosaic in the nave, preserved in the corners of the façade, are destroyed (see above, digs. 824-827 and 1625; PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, p. 436): "*Colligitur super totam Ecclesiam fuisse non solum picturis verum etiam vermiculatis operibus decoratam ut ex murorum concatenationibus quas in angulis prope maiorem Portam sedulo et accurate cum praememorato Joanne Lucio observavi; et uterque examinavimus: hodie vero destructae sunt novae restaurationis caussa sub annum 1683*" (CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monimenta*, I, p. 188).

1729 Repairs on the church include the roof, the arch of the apse, the intarsia above the arcades, and the inner façade wall; a large oculus is inserted into the latter to replace the earlier three small windows (RODOCANACHI, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f.).

1829—1830 New repairs are made on the roof and the doors; the apse wall is redecorated with paintings (MUÑOZ, 1938, p. 21).

1855—1857 Excavations in church, convent, garden and neighboring areas bring to light Roman remains (DESCEMET, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

1914—1919 The church is restored under the direction of Antonio Muñoz. The windows of nave, apse, aisles and façade are reopened and their grills reconstructed on the basis of fragments of originals found. The Chapel of Saint Thomas is removed and, at the east end of the south aisle, the Auxia Chapel is blocked off. The *schola cantorum* and chancel of Eugenius II are reconstructed, the altar moved back to its original site, and the bishop's throne and clergy benches reconstructed in the apse. The roof is repaired and the walls strengthened (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1938, p. 21 f.).

1936—1939 Excavations are begun under the right aisle; restoration continues with work on the marble pavement, reconstruction of the *schola cantorum* and revetting the apse in marble (MUÑOZ, 1938, p. 22; DARSY, 1961, p. 47).

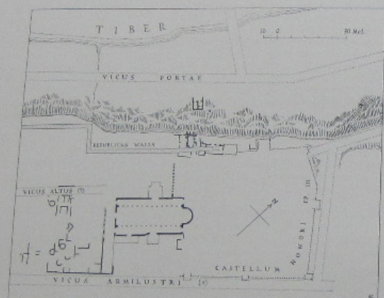
1946 Matthiae and Darsy find remains of fifth century mosaics under the Taddeo Zuccari fresco in the left part of the apse vault and on the nave walls above the colonnade (DARSY, 1961; see also IDEM, *op. cit.*, 1949, p. 212).

1955 The triumphal arch threatens to collapse and is repaired (DARSY, 1961, p. 48).

1959 In the course of laying electric wiring, remains are found in the aisles of painted decoration dating from the fifth, seventh, ninth, tenth and thirteenth centuries (DARSY, 1961, pp. 48, 104).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Sabina stands high on the ridge of the Aventine, overlooking the Tiber. The church is oriented from southwest to northeast [1]. On the right hand side, to the southeast, the hill slopes gently down toward the Porta Ruduscolana; but on the other side it descends precipitously to the river bank, and a level space only fifty meters wide separates the wall of the basilica from the top of the precipice (figs. 67, 68). It appears that in ancient times the Vicus Altus traversed this space,



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 67. S. Sabina. Site plan with Roman remains

running more or less parallel with the side of the church [2]. Another ancient street, presumably the Vicus Armilustri, lay to the southeast, perhaps in line with the modern Via S. Sabina.

The basilica consists of nave, side aisles and apse. Originally there must have been three doorways in the west wall [3], but only two remain: a Romanesque campanile occupies the place of the northern door, filling the western extremity of the north aisle. The doors of the central opening incorporate the famous set of fifth-century carved cypress wood panels [4]. Since the Romanesque period, and probably much earlier, the three entrances have been sheltered by a narthex inserted between the end wall of the basilica and a parallel wall seven meters west of the basilica and probably earlier in date. Today the narthex is entered only at the south end; but presumably another entrance originally opened from the north, off the Vicus Altus. We find no evidence of an original

[1] For brevity we shall ignore the diagonal orientation and speak of the altar as at the east end of the nave.

[2] An ancient wall extending northward from the basilica and at right angles to it appears to cross the line of the Vicus Altus. The relationship of this wall to the *vicus* and its date — whether Roman or Romanesque — remain uncertain (see below, p. 84).

[3] See an old photograph, Gab. Fot. Naz., no. C. 8475.

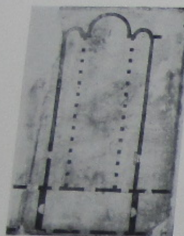
[4] For full discussion of the doors see Darsy, *Bibliographie*..., 1954; and idem, "Les portes de Sainte-Sabine", 1961, p. 5 ff. No further treatment of the subject will be attempted in these pages.

Fig. 68. S. Sabina. View from southeast, 1931


(Photo: Anderson)

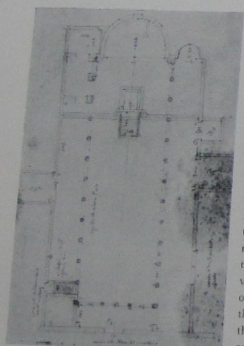

(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 69. S. Sabina. Interior



(Vat. lat. 11257, f. 158)

Fig. 70. S. Sabina. Ground plan, ca. 1483



(Vienna, Albertina, IT. AZ. 250)

Fig. 71. S. Sabina. Borromini or Workshop. Plan, ca. 1640 (?)

entrance to the narthex from the west, although such an entrance did exist from the fifteenth into the seventeenth centuries (figs. 70, 71).

Inside, the church has been restored in two comparatively recent campaigns[1] more or less to its Early Christian character (fig. 69). It displays a spacious and lofty nave, flanked by two aisles and well illuminated by eleven very large clerestorey windows in each side wall, five windows in the west wall, and three in the apse. The clerestorey walls are supported by twenty-four uniform Corinthian columns crowned by arcades with a revetment of *opus sectile*. A large *schola cantorum* occupied the eastern half of the nave; its original plan remains in doubt, though its walls are composed of fragments of ninth century *plutei* discovered in the pavement of the church[2] prior to and during Muñoz' restorations. Three chapels of late date project laterally from the aisles: to the south, the sixteenth century Chapels of Saint Hyacinth and Saint Dominic; and to the north, the seventeenth century Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena.

Before 1919, except for a short-lived high altar erected by Poscetti in 1906, the church retained the character given it in two major restorations. A small apse terminating the north aisle (the Capella del Rosario) and the elegant side porch from which the south aisle is entered have survived from a fifteenth century campaign undertaken by Cardinals Giulio Cesarini (1430-1446) and Auxia de Podio (1474-1484)[3]. Likewise, the cusped two-light tracery work, which was removed from the apse windows in 1914, apparently stemmed from Cesarini's restoration; a coffered ceiling, perhaps of the same date[4], was demolished during the second restoration, undertaken under Sixtus V. A plan, dating from 1480 or slightly later, may represent a project for remodeling the church at the time of Cardinal Auxia (fig. 70). The drawing deviates from the church then in existence in a number of ways: the narthex is shown deeper and much longer than it actually was; it is closed north and south by thick walls, each with three niches, the central niche reaching to the ground, the lateral ones higher up; three doors pierce the west wall of the narthex. Further, Cardinal Cesarini's south porch is omitted, while

[1] See above, digs. 1914-1919 and 1936-1939.
[2] See below, p. 96.
[3] See above, digs. 1441 and 1483-84.
[4] See above, dig. 1586-1587, dedicatory inscription of Sixtus V.

a small apse terminates each aisle; only the apse to the south, Cardinal Auxia's Capella del Rosario, was executed (fig. 71).

In the remodeling of Sixtus V, directed by Domenico Fontana in 1586 to 1587, a number of very thorough changes were effected in the original structure: most of the nave windows were blocked, leaving but three on either side and three round ones in the façade[1]; an open timber roof was placed over the nave[2]; the apse windows were blocked while the revetment of the apse wall, " *le lastre de porfidi et marmi che facevano la incrostatura della Tribuna* ", was removed and in part reused in the pavement of the apse " *palmentato di porfido, serpentini et marmi inanzi alli scalini della sedia...* ".[3] Also demolished were the ninth century chancel enclosure composed of plaques, an inscribed bronze door, colonnettes and an architrave[4]; the old altar supported by four columns in the apse[5]; and a number of elements of high medieval date: two ambos, a screen wall across nave and aisles, five altars in the front of the church (at least one of these was attached to the screen wall), remnants of an intarsia pavement and an old *cathedra*[6].

In the same campaign the chancel was modernized: the altar was transferred to the nave, in line with the penultimate columns; a crypt was placed beneath and made accessible by a flight of stairs; and a *cathedra* flanked by choirstalls was set up in the apse[7]. Fig. 71 presents the church largely as Sixtus V restored it.

Except for Taddeo Zaccari's fresco in the apse vault, the sixteenth century decorations and structural alterations were removed between 1914 and 1936 when the church was restored by Muñoz[8]. More recently some of the ornamental paintings which originally decorated the aisles have been uncovered under the direction of the late Fr. Darsy[9].

[1] Rodocanachi, *op. cit.*, p. 37, quoted above, dig. 1586-1587.
[2] See Sixtus' dedicatory inscription, quoted above, dig. 1586-1587: " *ruinosaq. tectorio sublatis...* ".
[3] *Libro di tutta la spesa, ms. cit.*, quoted by Muñoz, 1938, p. 50; see also Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 8v, 9, quoted above, dig. 1586-1587.
[4] Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 9r, 10: " *...il Presbyterio... cinto con tavole di marmo e appresso drizzate sei colonne che scompartite a suoi luoghi sostenevano un fregio alto di pietra... Quivi nel mezzo per entrar dentro... era... il passo... con un cancello di metallo* " (with the inscription, quoted above, dig. 824-827); see also *Libro di tutta la spesa, ms. cit.*, quoted by Muñoz, 1938, p. 51: " *...portato e cavato 6 base che erano sotto la tribuna grande...* [and] *6 colonne... con 6 pezzi di architravi antichi* ".
[5] Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 9v: " *L'Altare antico passavi... nella Tribuna haveva quattro colonne di pietra mischia alquanto oscure...* "; see also above, dig. 1586-1587.
[6] *Libro di tutta la spesa, ms. cit.*, as quoted by Muñoz, 1938: " *...disfar li pulpitti dove si cantava l'evangelio et epistole, levar altre pietre che erano in detta chiesa e l'ingombravano...* " (p. 53); " *...haver levato la sedia vecchia pontificale...* " (p. 50). See also Ugonio, *Stationi*, as quoted above, digs. 1238 and 1586-1587, and c. 11: " *...il pavimento... fu già come i vestigij dimostrano... di opera de intarsia...* "; and Rossi, *ms. cit.*, f. 16: " *...divisa da un muro alto di 12 palmi che attraversava... le navi per mezzo e dentro al qual luogo si entrava per 2 porticelle...* ".
[7] *Libro di tutta la spesa, ms. cit.*, quoted by Muñoz, 1938: " *...li scalini che sono intorno alla sedia papale...* " (p. 48); " *mattonato... dove va la sedia pontificale...* " (p. 49); " *...lastre del piano del altare... mettitura del altare* [follows detailed description] " (p. 50); " *...3 scalini che salgono al piano del altare...* " (p. 51); " *...volta sotto dove è l'altare...* " (*ibid.*); " *...scalini che calcano al altare di S.to Domenico...* " (*ibid.*); See also Ugonio *Stationi*, as quoted above, dig. 1586-1587, and *Notizie storiche...*, in Cancellieri, *ms. cit.*, c. 259, quoted in Berthier, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 536: " *...il nuovo altare di marmo verso la tribuna, ivi eretto sopra un piano più alto di tre gradini del pavimento della chiesa e collocata la mensa... di quattro altri scalini in faccia alla cattedra pontificia del pari eminente...* ". The choirstalls, seen in old interior views such as Rossini's lithograph of 1843 (Darsy, 1961, fig. 15) may, but need not, date from Sixtus' remodeling.
[8] Muñoz, 1938, *passim*.
[9] Darsy, 1961, pp. 48, 104.

E. ANALYSIS

1. Antecedent buildings [1]

a) Below the South Aisle

Remains of unidentified Roman buildings in three distinct strata are found in the eastern part of the south aisle, both below ground level and incorporated in the rising wall of the aisle [2] (pls. V, VI). The earliest, probably belonging to the first century B. C., is represented by four travertine column bases with apophyge, fillet and torus moldings above rectangular plinths, and unfluted drums, ca. 0.60 m. in diameter. The bases, at a depth of 5.80 m. below the church floor, are set out in a straight line, parallel with and 1.5 m. inside the aisle wall. The row of four is arranged in two pairs; the distance between bases within each pair is 3.30 m. from center to center, while the two inner bases are 6.30 m. apart (pl. VI). Hence it is uncertain whether a fifth column stood in the middle of the row or whether from the outset the central intercolumniation was nearly twice that of the flanking columns. A mutilated Ionic capital, associated with the bases in second use, probably belongs to the original colonnade. In the second century A. D. the lower parts of the colonnade were incorporated into a series of vaulted substructures, built apparently for the purpose of raising the floor of the complex some 4 m. above the original level. The four column bases were embedded in a wall of mixed *opus reticulatum* and brick construction, and a series of vaulted chambers with walls of *reticulatum* was constructed against the south face of this wall. Evidently the new building was also colonnaded, since the original bases were left *in situ*, presumably for use as foundations of a super-elevated colonnade. The difference in level between the original units and the new floor was made up with odd column drums, some of them fluted, as well as with the Ionic capital mentioned above, all rudely piled one above the other and dependent for rigidity on the fact that they were embedded in the masonry of the substructure. While the original columns came to be used almost as though they were pile foundations for the super-elevated building, these vestiges of the original building seem to have been deliberately conserved, and a means of access to them was provided through the vaulted cellars via a row of doorways 1.20 m. wide, spanned by stout travertine lintel stones and set close to the brick and reticulate wall into which the columns were incorporated. In addition to the four foundation piers provided by the ancient columns, the second building was supplied with several other reinforced foundation points or piles. These were constructed of stone blocks embedded in the walls of the vaulted substructure but not, as far as we know, based on a pre-existing colonnade like that described above. Some of these piles are made of squared blocks; others are column drums from earlier buildings, but made of peperino instead of travertine [3].

[1] We have limited the discussion of constructions antedating the church of S. Sabina to those elements found beneath or incorporated into the body of the basilica and its narthex (zones III and IV; see Muñoz, 1914, p. 332 ff., and idem, 1938, p. 40 f.; Marrou, *op. cit., passim*; Darsy, 1961, p. 55 f.). Regarding those below the northeast corner (zone I) and the southwest and south wings (zone II) of the convent — the former of the greatest significance for the topography and building history of early Republican Rome — we refer the reader to Marrou in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, xv, pt. 1, Paris, 1950, col. 218 ff.; Darsy, 1961, p. 53 ff. and his notes; and especially Darsy, 1968. The latter work, published posthumously, describes in detail the finds below the northeast corner of the convent (p. 13 ff.), including an Isis sanctuary (zone I); those below the courtyard west of the narthex and below the south wing of the convent (zone II; p. 56 ff.); those below the narthex and nave of the basilica (zone III; p. 79 ff.; see also below, our p. 84 f.); those incorporated into and below the eastern end of the south aisle (zone IV; p. 83 ff.; see below, our p. 83); finally, the parts incorporated into the west wall of the narthex (p. 97 ff.; see below, our p. 85 f.).

[2] Darsy, 1961, pp. 56, 88, and fig. 14; Darsy, 1968, p. 83 ff. and the corresponding figures. The differences between our analysis and that of the late Fr. Darsy will be obvious to the reader.

[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 88, fig. 14, interprets the drums as remains of an archaic temple *in situ*.

In the third period of building, the plan seems to have been considerably altered, and the new walls no longer correspond with the earlier foundations. A brick wall with several arched openings, parallel to the original colonnade but 1.5 meters to the south, was built across the top of the second period vaulting (pl. V). For foundations it had a row of independent brick piers passing through the vaults of the preceding structure, which apparently was already in ruins when the third period wall was built. The fine brickwork of the wall indicates a date not later than the end of the second century [1] (fig. 73). It was subsequently reused in the church, incorporated in the east half of the south aisle wall. Three openings surmounted by segmental archivolts are visible from the outside in the eastern portion of this wall: to the right one sees half of a wide opening; further west are the two jambs of a blocked aperture about 2 m. wide; finally, a tall narrow aperture is at the extreme left. Above this narrow opening a bulge in the modern revetment inclines to the west as it rises to the summit of the aisle wall, suggesting that the second century masonry is continuous up to the top. What is probably a continuation of the same structure is seen at the top of the wall about a meter to the west, extending two or three meters to the left and ceasing at a vertical perpend in the brickwork (fig. 72). An apparently later wall (probably of fourth century date) continues in the same alignment westward as far as the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth. Both walls are capped by a common cornice of three corbeled brick courses on marble modillions.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 72. S. Sabina. East part of right hand flank, clerestory, and aisle, incorporating second century and fourth century buildings



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 73. S. Sabina. East part of right hand aisle, bays incorporating Roman constructions

The changing width of the south aisle (pl. V) suggests that other Roman vestiges survive beneath it. While the eastern part of the aisle is equal in breadth with the north aisle, the western half is 0.85 m. wider; thus the western part of the aisle, like the eastern half, must make use of some earlier structure, likewise Roman but different from that to the

[1] Darsy, 1961, p. 88, suggests the time of the Severan emperors, while Idem, 1968, p. 80 ff., dates the structure in the second century, including a rebuilding of fourth century date.

east[1]. As yet, the western building remains unidentified, but the difference in the alignment of the wall shows that it was a separate structure. About midway in the south wall of the church, a single isolated Corinthian column[2] is embedded in the fabric of the wall. The shaft is 3.06 m. high, and the Attic base on which it stands lies more than 2 m. below the church floor level. Obviously the column plays no part in the design of the church. It seems to belong to one of the pre-existing buildings — either that below the east part of the aisle, or the unknown building which is betrayed by the anomalous alignment of the west part. We cannot say which, because the center of the column is not quite in line with either wall; indeed, it is even possible that it represents a third antecedent building.

b) Below the North Aisle

A variation in the alignment of the north wall of the church is similarly caused by the presence of antecedent buildings in its foundations. The aisle has a fairly consistent width of 5 m. but, at a distance of 7 m. from the east end, a slight but distinct distortion of the north wall reduces the width by 0.20 m. (pl. V). This obliquity coincides with the junction at right angles of the church and a thick wall which now forms the west side of the sacristy and adjacent library. Since it causes an irregularity in the aisle wall, it must have been in existence when the church was built; its relationship with the presumed course of the Vicus Altus has yet to be clarified (fig. 67). The part of the church wall standing east of the antecedent wall is said to be founded on the remains of a monumental construction of tufa *opus quadratum*[3]; this material is now reburied and we have not been able to examine it. Other parts of the north aisle wall are said to be built of reused quadrate blocks of tufa and marble[4]; unfortunately none of this material is visible today.

c) In and near the Narthex

Remains of a building antedating the church, yet different from those identified below the two aisles, are preserved below the west bays of the nave, below the narthex, and in the west wall of the narthex. The pavement of this building is exposed in two trenches, in the nave and narthex respectively, 1.80 m. below nave level and accessible through gratings in the church floor (pls. V, VI). In the nave trench two parallel sills for *cancelli* run east-west, defining a *dromos*, or gangway[5], 3.40 m. wide and parallel with the axis of the church but nearly 2 m. south of it[6]. The upper surfaces of the two parallel marble sills show grooves to house the edges of *plutei* plaques, and sockets to receive the posts which held them erect (figs. 74, 75). The posts were spaced 3 m. apart. The floor to either side of the gangway was paved with *opus sectile*, but only the bipedal backers on which the *sectile* was originally assembled have survived[7] (fig. 74). The gangway between the *cancelli* is on two levels, with a step 0.20 m. high about halfway between the pairs of chancel posts. The lower level, to the west, is paved with black and white mosaics in a simple guilloche pattern (fig.

[1] Comparison with the north aisle verifies this. If the crookedness of the aisle wall were due to the use of ancient masonry in the east half alone, as Muñoz, 1938, p. 40, seems to think, the north aisle would have the same width as the west part of the south aisle.
[2] Berthier, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 300, fig. 55; Muñoz, 1938, pl. 18, fig. 2; Darsy, 1968, p. 82.
[3] Darsy, 1961, pp. 19, 57.
[4] Darsy, 1961, p. 19.
[5] Thus we shall call this building the "*dromos* building".
[6] Muñoz, 1914, p. 332 ff.; Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 316 ff.; Darsy, 1961, pp. 55 f., 87, figs. 12, 13; and Darsy, 1968, p. 79 ff., who links the pavement to the domus of which the Corinthian column mentioned above survives in the wall of the south aisle. He dates this domus in the second century and considers the pavement a fourth century insert.
[7] For other examples of this kind of prefabricated *opus sectile* in the Basilica of Maxentius, in the first church of S. Marco, and possibly at S. Maria in Trastevere, see above, Vol. II, p. 231 ff., and Vol. III, p. 71.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 74. S. Sabina. "*dromos* building", footing of dromos screens and floor tiles originally carrying *opus sectile* veneer (see fig. 76)



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 76. S. Sabina. "*dromos* building", *opus sectile* pavement below narthex



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 75. S. Sabina. "*dromos* building", mosaic pavement

75); it is level with the *opus sectile* of the flanking compartments. The upper step has the same prefabricated *opus sectile* that occurs outside the *cancelli*. Two and one-half meters south of the gangway, we find the remains of a brick pier revetted with plaster painted black, white, and yellow. According to the plan published by Muñoz at the time of discovery[1], a similar pier was found 4 m. to the east, but it is no longer visible, since it is outside the area of the conserved trench; as there seems to be no written description of it, it cannot be taken into consideration. The trench in the narthex reveals the west part of the gangway and, in it, another step. Here the *opus sectile* of the pavement is still intact on its bipedal backers (fig. 76). It is bordered by marble strips flush with the floor, in place of the sill blocks of the eastern trench. To the west two chancel posts still stand erect; they are pieces of a column shaft 0.33 m. in diameter and 1.50 m. high, set into the pavement and incised on the east face with vertical grooves to house the *plutei* which they formerly supported. These posts are 6 m. distant from the nearest post sockets in the nave trench, and it is obvious that there must have been two more posts halfway between, standing just at the point where the excavated area is cut off by a modern wall and where the remains of another step, 0.09 m. high, are discernible.

The west wall of the present narthex incorporates remains of an arcaded colonnade which seems to be contemporary with the pavement and its *dromos* and, like these, to antedate the construction of the church. The arcades, numbering seven, were blocked later with a masonry of brick and tufa; in a second operation a large room, the chamber of Saint Dominic, was built above the narthex,

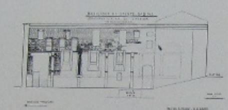
[1] Muñoz, 1914, p. 337.

and the wall of the arcade was raised and provided with windows; finally, larger windows were pierced into the walls of both narthex and upper chamber [1]. Despite all these remodelings, the original design of the wall which terminates the narthex to the west is easily discernible (pls. V, VI; figs. 77, 78). The arches, exposed in the chamber immediately above the narthex, are single archivolts of sesquipedals, 3 m. in diameter and rising to an apex 8.15 m. above the church floor; thus the arches



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 77. S. Sabina. Façade of narthex



(Darsy, *op. cit.*, 1961, fig. 7)

Fig. 78. S. Sabina. Façade of narthex, survey Prandi-Darsy

are almost 10 m. above the pavement of the "*dromos* building". They were supported on columns; the single one which survives has a shaft of *giallo antico*, 4.20 m. high and surmounted by a Corinthian capital with simple blocked-out leaves. The base of the column rests on a block of travertine standing on a wall which itself is over 4 m. high with respect to the *dromos* pavement. Unfortunately at present the place where pavement and wall meet is not visible, but the center line of one arch corresponds exactly with that of the gangway. Prevailing opinion regards the arcade as belonging to an atrium which supposedly extended to the west and was contemporaneous with the church [2], but we must disagree: the bases of the arcade stand 2.35 m. above the church floor and thus at least that much above the level of an atrium, if it indeed existed; moreover, the intercolumniations of the arcade are not related to the axis of the church. Hence, we propose that the arcade and its supporting wall antedate the church and that the former constituted a large *polifora* window in the west wall of the "*dromos* building". At a lower level, a doorway on the axis of the *dromos* may be concealed by the revetment of the narthex wall; but as far as we know, this has never been stripped off.

In the eighteenth century a street pavement was seen in the courtyard, west of the arcaded wall and adjoining it so closely that the wall seems to encroach on it; but its level, 8 *palmi* (1.79 m.) below ground, seems to correspond to that of the "*dromos* building", which is 1.76 m. below nave level [3]. Further west, a thermae building was reportedly found in the area of the courtyard in 1936; and other ancient buildings came to light at the same time during construction of the convent wings south and west of the courtyard [4]. Unfortunately all this material had to be destroyed; but a drawing made at the time by Prandi [5] depicts numerous disconnected features

[1] Darsy, 1957, p. 480 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 477, 480 ff.; Idem, 1968, p. 97 f.

[3] Nerini, *De templo et coenobio sanctorum Bonifacii et Alexii*, Rome, 1752, p. 31 f.; Darsy, 1957, p. 475; Idem, 1961, p. 58 f.; Darsy, 1968, p. 75, assigns the pavement to a courtyard belonging to the thermae building.

[4] Prandi, "Nuove terme scoperte a S. Sabina", *Giornale d'Italia*, Oct. 29, 1936; Darsy, 1961, p. 54; Idem, 1968, pp. 63, 75, 77 f.

[5] Darsy, 1957, p. 475; Idem, 1961, p. 58 f.; Idem, 1968, pls. 3, 4.

below the convent wings, among them some small circular structures which could be lime kilns or possibly small bath buildings or round pools.

The existence of an atrium in front of the fifth century church must remain in suspense. The area of the courtyard was used for burials only during the Middle Ages [1]. On the other hand, the excavations have brought to light a number of walls, presumably of fifth century date, which suggest the customary plan of an atrium: to the south there were ascertained two east-west walls, parallel to each other and 5.0 m. apart, incorporated in the basement of the old infirmary, which was demolished in 1936; a second wall was seen, running north-south in front of and parallel to the narthex wall; finally, a third wall was found jutting westward from the north end of the narthex wall [2]. Thus, the presence of an atrium has been assumed [3]. Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the masonry technique of these walls or any other evidence as to their date. Certainly, the communication to be expected between the east wing of this "atrium" and the narthex never existed, and we remain in doubt as to date and function of the walls found.

2. The church

The main entrance to the basilica (pl. V), at its west end, is preceded by a narthex lying between the basilica and the wall 7 m. to the west which we believe antedated the church and was part of the "*dromos* building". This wall is not quite parallel with the church end wall: the interval between them is 7.10 m. at the southwest corner of the church but only 6.80 m. in front of the central doorway. The northern third of the narthex is occupied by a staircase and ramp leading to the monastic buildings which stand north and west of the church and date partly from the thirteenth and partly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the remaining part of the narthex, the wooden ceiling is supported on four diaphragm arches spanning from wall to wall and resting on column shafts which stand against the walls; four plain granite shafts on the west side and four spirally fluted *pavonazzetto* shafts on the east (fig. 79). Of the latter, the three shafts on the south side of the central doorway have flutes which incline to the right as they rise, while the single shaft north of the doorway has fluting inclined to the left. Presumably there were formerly two more left-inclined shafts in the narthex area now occupied by stairs. The diaphragm arches recall those which span the nave of S. Prassede and like these, date probably from the thirteenth or fourteenth century; the spiral shafts may be of the same period. Above the narthex ceiling the west wall incorporates the antecedent arcades noted above; but at a higher level the same wall is built with the meticulous brickwork and plain marble window frames which are typical of construction in Rome in the late twelfth century (fig. 77).

The doorway from the narthex into the south aisle (fig. 79), 2.04 m. wide and 3.30 m. high, is composed of reused blocks of grey Proconnesian marble. The doorposts consist of up-ended architrave blocks decorated with simple cymation and fillet. Inside, the reverse faces of the same blocks retain elements of Doric decoration, presumably the obverse of the original entablature. The lintel of the doorway is composed of another architrave stone, now placed on its side so that the paneled soffit forms the decoration of the fascia. Over this member lies a cornice with cymation, consoles, fascia, and cyma all carved in a single block of marble. The emblems in the lacunae between the consoles have been chiseled away and, at each end of the block, the decoration is

[1] Darsy, 1961, *loc. cit.*; Idem, 1968, p. 63 f.

[2] Darsy, 1968, pl. 4, p. 66 f.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 78.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 79. S. Sabina. Narthex, doorway to right hand aisle



Fig. 80. S. Sabina. Narthex, door frame, nave portal

(Photo: Corbett)

reproduced in workmanship more crude than the original to form the returns of the moldings. The style of the original carving suggests that these blocks of marble date from the fourth century A. D., and we presume that they were converted into a door frame only when the church was first built.

The main entrance from the narthex to the nave is 3.13 m. wide and 5.20 m. high; it is framed with richly decorated jambs and lintel of white marble and a similarly decorated cornice above; to judge by the style of the carving, all these members date from the third century (fig. 80). The moldings of the lintel are mitred at the corners and continue in the jambs, showing that the width of the doorway remained unchanged when it was transferred to the church. Originally a third doorway must have led to the north aisle; it no longer exists, since the wall through which it passed was demolished when the Romanesque campanile was built.

Another doorway opens in the south wall of the south aisle, some 8 m. from the west wall. It has a plain marble architrave 0.66 m. thick, decorated with a narrow cymation molding. The doorway is sheltered by a porch of three cross-vaulted bays which rest on a pair of Corinthian columns in travertine, between end piers of stucco. The travertine columns replace shafts of black granite which were removed to the Vatican Museum in the nineteenth century[1]. The style of the porch and the door frame bespeaks a fifteenth century date; the half-obliterated arms of a cardinal on the door lintel have been interpreted as those of Cardinal Cesarini, who held the title of S. Sabina from 1440 to 1453[2].

Inside, the church is divided into a nave terminated by an apse and two aisles (figs. 69, 81). The nave measures 46.80 m. from the door to the chord of the apse; it is 14.30 m. wide between column centers. The apse is 7.20 m. deep. The aisles average 5.25 m. in width from column center to outer wall. The total clear width is thus 24.80 m., while the total length including narthex and apse is 62.98 m. (pl. V)[3].

The nave is flanked by arcades of thirteen arches which rest on a set of twenty-four uniform

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[1] Berthier, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 101.
[2] *Ibid.* and above, fig. 144.
[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 15, and Idem, 1968, p. 91, gives slightly different measurements.



(Photo: Vasari)

Fig. 81. S. Sabina. Right aisle and nave



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 82. S. Sabina. Capital

Corinthian columns and four rectangular end piers. The details of the bases, shafts, and capitals show much less variation than is usual in Early Christian buildings in Rome. All the bases are 0.93 to 0.95 m. square and 0.31 to 0.35 m. high and are decorated with uniform Attic moldings. Above them rise the white Proconnesian marble shafts, 5.35 to 5.42 m. (18 R. ft.) in height and 0.63 m. in diameter, immediately above the apophyge. The twenty-four flutes on each shaft are reeded up to a height of 1.75 m. from the apophyge. Four of the shafts are built with drums of varying lengths, but the others are monolithic. The capitals vary slightly in dimension but have an average height of 0.73 m., or 2½ R. ft. (fig. 82). They are orthodox Corinthian capitals except that the serrations of the acanthus foliage are enclosed in a curved frame outlining each leaf; this feature may simply mean that the sculpture is incomplete. The columns are certainly a uniform set, and judging by their style, they cannot be later than the third century; perhaps the second half of the second century is more likely[1].

The arcades which surmount the columns are brick except at the point of contact with the Corinthian capitals, where concealed triangular imposts of travertine have been identified[2]. The arches are slightly stilted, the centers being 0.45 m. above the abacus of the capitals. The intrados are lined with marble plates, and the spandrels facing the nave are revetted with panels of *opus sectile* in green and porphyry, *giallo antico*, and other marbles[3] (figs. 69, 81). The thickness of the *sectile* (0.025 m.), applied only on the side of the arcade which faces the nave, gives the impression that the superstructure does not rise axially over the columns; but the anomaly is only in appearance, and the 0.60 m. brick core of each clerestorey wall rests exactly on the axis of the colonnade beneath it (pl. VI). At the top of the *sectile*, above a setback 0.025 m. wide, the brick

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[1] Dr. D. Strong of the British Museum gave us this independent opinion, confirming the view of Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Kirchen*, Basel, 1948, p. 77. On the other hand, Darsy, 1961, p. 20, and Idem, 1968, p. 93, assigns the columns and capitals to the fifth century.
[2] Darsy, 1961, p. 20 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

clerestorey walls are at present covered only with plaster; their original decoration, apparently mosaic, has disappeared [1]. Higher up, starting 12.90 m. from floor level, are rows of windows, thirteen on each side. They are each 2.30 m. (less than 8 R. ft.) wide and 4.35 m. high and are separated by brick piers 1.25 m. (more then 4 R. ft.) wide (figs. 68, 83, 84). The distance between the windows, from center to center, is thus 3.55 m. (12 R. ft.). The openings are spanned by semicircular arches of radially-set bricks in which sesquipedals and bipedals are indiscriminately mixed. The arches rise directly from the window jambs, without a setback at the springing.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 83. S. Sabina. View of right flank

The walls of the entire church are concrete faced with brick and of normal thickness, 0.67 m. for the aisles and 0.55 m. for the clerestorey. The walls of the façade and the apse are both 0.85 m. thick [2]. Externally the brickwork is typical of the fifth century, with small reused bricks set carefully in horizontal courses between thick mortar beds (fig. 84); the proportion of mortar to brick gives a modulus of 4½ courses per R. ft., with 4 courses averaging 27.5 cm. and 5 courses, 34.5 cm. The mortar beds are from 26 to 40 mm. high, with an average of 32 mm.; the pointing is flush with a slight curve at the upper lip. The present concrete window lattices, installed in 1918, are reproductions of the ancient gypsum transennae, some of which had been walled up in the sixteenth century and were discovered during the restorations [3]. A few of the original panels are preserved in the narthex. Each window opening was divided into three vertical parts by two wooden mullions, 0.16 m. wide and 0.105 m. thick, between which the perforated gypsum transennae were set. The perforations of the ancient windows, and also of the modern ones, are filled with mica. We see no reason to doubt that the timber and gypsum window closures found in 1914 date from the original building [4].



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

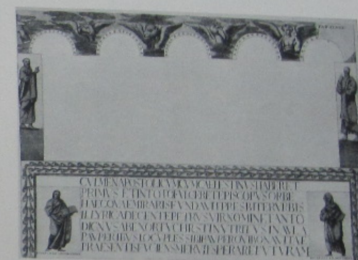
Fig. 84. S. Sabina. Right hand clerestorey, detail, windows 1-4

At the east end of the nave, the clerestorey walls project slightly and form what appear to be

[1] Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, I, p. 188, quoted above, dig. 1683.
[2] Muñoz, 1938, p. 27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 29 ff.; photograph, Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, Archivio Fotografico, no. 86-87.
[4] We differ from Muñoz, who dates them in the ninth century.

short buttresses which terminate in sloping setbacks; but both below and above the set back, the buttresses are integral with the clerestorey wall as well as with the wall of the apse (fig. 86).

While the sides of the nave are now bare of decoration between the *opus sectile* revetment of the arcades and the window sills, the corresponding zone of the west wall is embellished with the famous mosaic inscription which records the building of the church by the presbyter Petrus of Illyria during the reign of Pope Celestine [1]. The seven lines of verse are executed in gold tesserae on a blue ground, surrounded by a margin of blue and gold spirals. At each side a female figure is depicted, bearing an open book, ECCLESIA EX CIRCUMCISIONE to the left and ECCLESIA EX GENTIBUS to the right. Above the mosaic panel, five round-headed windows now pierce the west wall, corresponding in height with the clerestorey windows, but only 1.90 m. in width; they are separated by brick piers 0.65 m. wide (pl. VI). These openings are modern restorations; they replace an oval window inserted in 1729 in place of three round windows, dating presumably from the remodeling of Sixtus V [2]. The modern restoration is based on Ciampini's engraving of the original mosaics (fig. 85), which depicts five window arches with the symbols of the evangelists in mosaic on the spandrels and bearded figures on the end piers. Ciampini obviously could see only the outlines of the window arches below and between these mosaics; neither the strong projection of the end piers nor the distances of the windows shown in this engraving can be taken to reproduce faithfully the original arrangement. Indeed, the five original windows were separated by columns instead of the present brick piers, much as at SS. Giovanni e Paolo [3].



(Ciampini, op. cit., pl. 48)

Fig. 85. S. Sabina. Nave, interior façade, mosaic as of 1690

The apse, at the east end of the nave, is slightly stilted in plan and is 11 m. wide and 7 m. deep. Its marble revetment is modern but is based on Domenico Fontana's account of his destruction of the original revetment [4]. The windows, blocked in the sixteenth century, were reopened in 1938. Recent investigations have established that the half dome of the apse was constructed with concealed ribs, a technique frequent in late Roman building [5]. The painting by Taddeo Zuccari which decorates the apse vault may be a sixteenth century reinterpretation of the subject of the original apse mosaic. A few fragments of the latter are embedded in the present plaster and Muñoz noted large numbers of fallen tesserae when excavating beneath the apse pavement [6].

[1] See above, dig. 422-440.
[2] See above, digs. 1586-1587 and 1729, and the views of Cipriani and Uggeri listed above, p. 74.
[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 24; Muñoz, 1918, p. 126.
[4] See above, dig. 1586-1587 and p. 81.
[5] Darsy, 1961, p. 22 f.
[6] Salmi, *op. cit.*, p. 5 ff.; Muñoz, 1938, p. 37 ff.; Darsy, *op. cit.*, 1949, p. 212 f.; Idem, 1961, pp. 23, 47, 100.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 86. S. Sabina. View of apse

The arch of the apse, composed of bipedals, appears to have been well preserved until 1955, except for an eighteenth century repair in the north section; in 1955 a more thorough repair became necessary [1].

While the apse wall is concealed inside by modern revetment, its structure may be seen on the outside (pl. VI; fig. 86). The construction is uniform throughout and is integral with the clerestorey walls. Like the nave, it is composed of small reused bricks set in horizontal courses, with mortar beds averaging 32 mm., in a ratio of four or five courses per Roman foot. A rectilinear excrescence at the base of the apse, below the central window, is integral with the cylindrical wall and must be contemporaneous; apparently a rectangular building was originally either attached or intended to be attached to the apse at this point. Above this, the apse wall is pierced by three large round-headed windows, 2.60 m. wide and 4.30 m. high, whose sills are 6.5 m. above the nave floor. Possibly the openings were originally intended either to be set somewhat lower in the wall or to be longer, since the jambs continue downward 1.40 m. below the present sills in the form of vertical fissures; but the brickwork which raises the sills to the present level has the same character as the rest of the wall, with a modulus of five courses averaging 34.5 cm. Thus the alteration may have been made during construction. On the other hand, the middle window has been narrowed in modern times. Originally the central opening was 0.25 m. wider than the lateral ones, but for some reason the three openings were made uniform in Muñoz's restorations, when the cusped fifteenth century frames were removed and the present concrete lattices substituted. Some 12 m. above ground level and 1 m. above the apex of the windows, the cylinder of the apse wall is set back to form an uneven ledge about 0.10 m. wide. The brickwork above this interruption has exactly the same character as below; color and coursing are the same, and the somewhat irregular disposition of the square scaffold holes shows no significant change. Moreover, the setback, while clearly visible in the south half of the apse, is not discernible in its north half. Hence, it may represent simply a minor change in plan by which the outer face of the apse wall was slightly re-

[1] Darsy, 1968, p. 114, figs. 88, 89.

duced in diameter (R. K.). On the other hand, since the level of the setback corresponds exactly with the springing of the apse vault, it seems possible that the apse was left incomplete on the exterior while the vault was finished, and that the upper portion of the apse wall was not added until later (S. C.) [1]. Even so, it is hard to see why the builders did not continue their wall face in the same plane as below without the disfigurement of a setback [2].

In the fifteenth century a small apsed chapel was built at the east end of the south aisle (fig. 86), replacing an entrance which previously existed there [3]. The remains of this doorway were discovered in 1936, when the apse was made to accommodate the stairs going down to the excavations beneath this part of the building [4]. The west end of the north aisle was demolished in the Middle Ages to make way for the Romanesque campanile. Nothing of the original aisle wall can be seen in the campanile foundations. The doorway which originally must have opened in the west end of the north aisle has completely disappear except, possibly, for part of a threshold stone [5].

Both north and south aisles walls are pierced at a height of 5.70 m. above the floor by a row of small round-headed windows, 0.30 m. wide and 1.30 m. high, and with splayed jambs; they are disposed so that each window corresponds with an arch of the nave arcade (figs. 69, 72). Nevertheless, size and shape of the windows and the *falsa cortina* masonry of the jambs — the scratched horizontal lines are clearly visible — leave no doubt that they are of twelfth or thirteenth century date. No traces of earlier openings appear in the aisle walls; thus the aisles seem to have originally been without lighting of their own. On the other hand, Darsy has uncovered traces of the original painted decoration of the aisles [6]. They are faint, but on the wall at the east end of the south aisle one still sees paintings, apparently of brocaded hangings and a tendril frieze of classical design; above the arcades a pattern of small rectangles imitates in paint the *opus sectile* of the nave arcades, itself an imitation of *opus quadratum*.

The campanile occupies the westernmost bay of the north aisle, as well as half the adjoining bay. At the base it measures 5.60 m. square, and the walls are 1.40 m. thick; higher up they are about 1 m. thick. At clerestorey level the west face of the tower is set back 0.44 m. behind the nave façade. At this level the simple arcading of the Romanesque structure survives, with two plain arches to each story (pl. V). There are traces of the usual cornices and archivolts, but these were probably shaved away when the Baroque belfry was constructed. The belfry presumably takes the place of Romanesque upper stories.

[1] Darsy, 1968, pp. 108, 115 and fig. 84 with its overlay, saw, erroneously we think, the apse erected in two phases, different in material and technique: the part below the setback, dating from the fourth century and belonging to a thermae building; and the upper part built in the fifth century, when supposedly the thermae apse was incorporated in the construction of the basilica.

[2] A photograph of the inner apse wall (Darsy, 1968, fig. 87), above the springing of the vault, shows, alongside the original square scaffolding holes, round scaffolding holes of the type customary in Roman building practice in the ninth century. Were there any repairs undertaken at that time?

[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 37.

[4] Idem, 1957, p. 483.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[6] Idem, 1961, p. 104, fig. 23.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

1. Structures antedating the church

a) Buildings in the Area of the Aisles

The buildings in the area below both aisles are too little known to justify an attempt at reconstruction. Those below the north aisle are entirely unexplored. Those below the east end of the south aisle are somewhat better known, but their earlier phases had little impact on the layout of the basilica; and neither the colonnaded Republican building nor the early Imperial vaulted chambers which succeeded that structure need be discussed here.

On the other hand, the third building in this area was still well preserved when the basilica was built. The façade incorporated in the east end of the south wall of the aisle (figs. 72, 73) seems to be part of a house of the *insula* type, with ground floor *tabernae*, so frequently found in second and third century Rome. The plan of the building behind the façade remains unknown; the only certain facts are that the structure was built at the turn of the second century and remodeled later in the fourth century. At that time, if not from the outset, it extended from the southeast corner of the basilica at least as far as the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth; its height corresponded to the present height of the aisle; and it was terminated by a modillion cornice. In line with the east wall of the Chapel of Saint Hyacinth, an alley separated it from the structure (or structures) whose remains survive below the portico and the west parts of the aisle and nave[1].

b) The " Dromos Building "

It has sometimes been suggested that the remains found below the west portion of the basilica all belong to the same late antique building, which thus would comprise the column still incorporated into the wall of the south aisle, as well as the *dromos* and the pavements below the nave and narthex[2]. If our analysis is correct, the arcaded west wall of the narthex also forms part of that building. However, we are not sure that the column in the south wall formed part of the same complex; it seems difficult to explain the difference in level between the column at –2.06 m. and the pavement of the *dromos* hall at –1.76 m. Although steps would obviously overcome the disparity in levels, the existing evidence could equally well indicate two buildings or successive building campaigns of a single structure. As it is, then, the overall layout cannot be satisfactorily visualized. Even the hall which enclosed the *dromos* is known only in part. We know for certain the west wall with its seven colonnaded arcades high above floor level, in all likelihood a heptapartite huge arcaded window; we know of a room extending eastward for a least eleven meters from this wall, lavishly appointed with an *opus sectile* pavement and containing in its center the *dromos*, a long passageway paved with mosaic and flanked by *cancelli* running lengthwise. It has been suggested that this hall was part of the *titulus Sabinae* antecedent to the church, that it was the meeting room of the congregation in that titulus, and that the *dromos* was part of its ecclesiastical arrangements[3].

[1] Darsy, 1961, p. 56; Idem, 1968, p. 82 ff.
[2] Darsy, 1961, *loc. cit.*; Idem, 1968, p. 80 ff.
[3] Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 316 ff.

In any event, it is comparable to the *soleae* which are known in Roman churches by the early fifth century and perhaps at an earlier date[1].

We are inclined to suspend judgment. While it is obvious that the *titulus Sabinae* must have been somewhere in the area occupied by the basilica, we cannot be certain that it was identical with the " *dromos* building ". Even if this could proven, it is hard to explain the *dromos* as a *solea;* its close proximity to the west wall does not allow room for liturgical movement at that point, even assuming that the altar was near the middle of the nave as was common in fourth century Rome. Rather, the layout suggests that the *dromos* led to an entrance in the west wall, below the arcaded window, an arrangement so far unparalleled in any other Christian building. In spite of our ignorance of the liturgical layout of Roman tituli, we still think it possible that the " *dromos* building " was secular rather than ecclesiastical. But we are also at a loss to explain its purpose in a secular building.

2. The church

Except for the house façade incorporated in the east part of the south wall and the arcaded wall of the " *dromos* building " incorporated into the west wall of the narthex, the church of S. Sabina is an integral building; there is little to be added to the reconstruction proposed and carried out by Muñoz.

The plan of nave, aisles, narthex, and apse is simple, and appears to have remained unchanged, except that the narthex would have originally extended along the façade of the north aisle, where it has now been superseded by an entrance to the monastic buildings. The only extraordinary feature appears to be the location of the entrance into the narthex through its short north and south sides. The reasons are obviously the location of the two Roman streets (fig. 67)[2] along the north and south flanks of the basilica and the desire to retain in the new structure the arcaded west wall of the " *dromos* building ". As stated above, we do not concur with the proposal to reconstruct, west of the narthex, an atrium enveloped by a quadriporticus, the east wing of which would be represented by the arcades of the narthex[3]. No trace has been found of stairs leading from the higher level of the supposed atrium, 2.45 m. above church level, to the narthex[4]. Moreover, the arcade of the narthex, the supposed east wing of the quadriporticus, is 2.35 m. above the nave, and the intercolumniations of the arcade are not on the axis of the basilica; on the other hand, they are axial with the earlier " *dromos* building ".

The elevation of nave and aisles has been well conserved by Muñoz' restoration, including the lower part of the west façade and the mosaic beneath its windows; the nave columns, arcades, and intarsia decoration in the spandrels; clerestorey windows and a fragment of one of the original window grills. The marble revetment on the apse wall, as reconstructed by Muñoz, probably conveys the appearance of the original decoration. A similar revetment originally existed on the walls of the narthex[5]. Only in the upper part of the west façade is Muñoz' reconstruction probably

[1] Mathews, " An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and Its Liturgical Functions ", *R.A.C* 38 (1962), p. 73 ff. The chancel at S. Pietro in Vincoli formerly assigned to Church B and dated 439-440, now appears to belong to Church A and to date from about 400; see above, Vol. III, p. 228 ff. But apparently already Constantine's basilica at the Lateran had such a *solea*. In the sixth century, the arrangement is frequently found in the eastern provinces, as at Hagia Sophia, but possibly also in the West, as at Trier; see Kempf, " Trierer Domgrabungen 1943-54 ", *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), Berlin 1958, p. 368 ff.
[2] Darsy, 1961, p. 26; Idem, 1968, p. 74 ff; and our fig. 67.
[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 54; Idem, 1968, p. 77 f.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Ugonio, *op. cit.*, c. 8 ff.: " *Ess portico ritiene i vestigi della incrostatura antica nei muri simile a quella che dentro la chiesa veggiamo* "; " ... *incrostature di varie pietre artificiosamente conteste, di qual lavoro habbiamo visto reliquie vestigij nella Tribuna ancora, prima che fusse rinovata...* ".

mistaken; in all likelihood its five openings were originally separated not by piers but by columns, thus forming a multiple colonnaded window comparable to that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo [1]. The figures of the Evangelists in the spandrels and of two male figures, presumably Saints Peter and Paul, at the end piers have been recorded (fig. 85). The nave walls below the windows and above the intarsia work also seem to have carried mosaics originally; Ciampini records traces of them at the corners of the west façade. But it remains a moot question whether they showed figural representations or only ornamental designs. Later these mosaics may have been replaced by paintings, but they too have disappeared [2]. On the other hand, traces of fifth century painted decoration have been found in the aisles, both above the arcades and on the side wall, overlaid by later decorative paintings, one layer dating from the ninth century, others from the high Middle Ages.

It has been suggested that the overall plan of the basilica is based on a complex system of moduli, and that the modulus is the height of a column including its base and capital, 6.2985 m.[3]. The drawback to this ingenious proposal is that the modulus and its multiples all result in odd or broken numbers of Roman feet, such as 11¼ R. ft. for the basic modulus, 191¼ for the length of nave and aisles including narthex and apse. On the other hand, direct measurement results in figures such as 46.80 m. = 160 R. ft. for the length and 24.80 m. = 84 R. ft. for the total width of nave and aisles measured along the east wall. Also, it should be remembered that the measurements throughout the building vary slightly, not the least in the height of the columns and the width of the aisles [4].

3. Later changes

Most of the changes made to the original basilica concern the liturgical furnishings. No essential alterations have been made in its plan or structure, except the building of the campanile in the high Middle Ages and of the side chapels in the seventeenth century.

The first traceable major change was in the ninth century, when a new chancel was laid out, projecting from the apse into the eastern bays of the nave. It was enclosed by marble *cancelli* and accessible through a presumably small bronze door, dated by an inscription of Pope Eugene II [5]. Presumably the placing of the chancel close to the apse was linked to the relocation of the original altar, which may well have stood further west in the nave. Muñoz reconstructed the chancel in 1936, reusing the original *cancelli*, by and large correctly, we think; but its exact original layout remains in question. In the ninth century also, the wall paintings in the aisles were gone over and supplemented by painted *vela*, characteristic of the period; indeed, an inscription of Eugene II referring to the erection of an altar canopy has been found on the aisle wall [6]. Supposedly at the same time, the mosaics on the nave walls were replaced, wholly or in part, by wall paintings; rediscovered in 1625 and still seen by Ciampini, they have again been lost, and the passage in Eugene's biography remains the only witness for their dating [7].

The next restoration campaign, in the thirteenth century, was presumably linked to the installation of the Dominicans at S. Sabina. To some degree it, too, was designed to meet new liturgical

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[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 274.
[2] Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, I, p. 188, as quoted above, dig. 1683.
[3] Darsy, 1961, p. 14 ff. and fig. 1; Idem, "Lois modulaires et anastylose", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 36 (1963-64), p. 63 ff.; and Idem, 1968, p. 90 ff.
[4] See above, pp. 83 f., 86.
[5] See above, dig. 824-827.
[6] Darsy, 1961, p. 104, fig. 23.
[7] See above, digs. 824-827 and 1625.

requirements. A screen wall, about 2.70 m. high and pierced at either end by a small door, was built across nave and aisles to separate the monastic congregation in the rear from the lay folk in front; in the front part, five altars and a pair of ambos were set up and dedicated in 1238. One of the altars was placed against the center of the cross wall, while the positions of the four other altars and the original place of the ambos remain unknown, as does the exact site of the screen wall itself, "in the middle of the church" [1]. A side chapel, dedicated to the angels and the first chapel to be mentioned, was added to the right flank of the church [2]. To provide better light, small windows were pierced into the aisle walls. The narthex was reinforced by inserting transverse arches supported by columns with spiral flutings and probably extending along the entire original length of the narthex. Finally, the campanile was built, corresponding to liturgical demands and architectural custom in Rome in the high Middle Ages [3]. Contemporaneously or shortly later, perhaps in the second half of the thirteenth century, the aisle walls received a new painted decoration [4].

The subsequent campaigns of repair and remodeling have been discussed above. In the fifteenth century, the south porch was built, as was the right lateral apse, originally the Chapel of the Rosary; supposedly a coffered ceiling was placed over the nave [5]. The changes of the late sixteenth century comprised the "modernistic" removal of the early and high medieval furnishings from the nave and their replacement by furnishings meeting contemporary demands: these included a high altar on a new site and raised on a platform, a subterranean crypt, a *cathedra* and choirstalls in the apse, and a choir loft [6]. In the seventeenth century, the lateral chapels projecting from the aisles were built and decorated; and apparently extensive repairs were undertaken in the nave [7]. Finally, the restorations of the twentieth century include the somewhat purist removal of all sixteenth century and later elements, except the side chapels, and the re-creation of the fifth century exterior and interior and of the ninth century chancel [8].

G. CHRONOLOGY

1. The original building

The house incorporated in the east portion of the south aisle appears to have been remodeled in the fourth century, and a date in the fourth century has also been assigned to the buildings found in the area west of the church [9]. Furthermore, the decoration of the "*dromos* building" itself strongly suggests a fourth century date. The *opus sectile* floor, constructed of a thin marble veneer backed with bipedals, finds close parallels in such buildings as the Basilica of Maxentius, the room beneath and thus antecedent to the Lateran baptistery, the first churches of S. Marco in Rome, and probably of S. Maria in Trastevere — all structures which date from the first half of the fourth

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[1] See above, digs. 1248 and 1586-1587, and Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 101: "[by the wall] ... *per il mezzo diviso in due parti...*"; "... *dalle bande del detto muro si erano due porticelle...*"; "[the altar] ... *appoggiato al sodetto muro nel mezzo ...*"; and, c. 9, "[the ambos] ... *trasposti dal suo antico luogo abbiamo visti noi appoggiati al muro* [i. e. the screen wall]".
[2] See above, dig. 1248.
[3] It has been attributed to the tenth century by Serafini, *Torri Campanarie*, p. 94 ff., no. 131 f. and pl. 10, and by Darsy, 1961, p. 30; but we see no reason for this early date.
[4] Darsy, 1961, p. 104, and fig. 24 f.
[5] See above, digs. 1441 and 1483-1484 and p. 81.
[6] See above, digs. 1586-1587, and 1589-1601.
[7] See above, digs. 1599-1600, 1643-1647, 1671, and 1683.
[8] See above, digs. 1914-1919 and 1936-1939.
[9] See above, p. 86 f.

century [1]. Unfortunately, the masonry of the arcaded west wall of the "*dromos* building" is at this moment not accessible for examination and assessment of date [2].

As for the basilica, the date of construction is clearly established. The inscription on the west wall attributes its foundation to the pontificate of Celestine I (422-432), the cost being borne by the presbyter Peter from Illyria [3]. The passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* which assigns the building to the years of Sixtus III (432-440), giving the title of Peter of Illyria as bishop rather than presbyter, seems to suggest that the building was completed in Sixtus' pontificate, or perhaps only that he performed the ceremony of dedication [4].

2. Later changes

Subsequent alterations of the basilica are all datable without much difficulty. The ninth century chancel and redecoration are datable 824-827; the thirteenth century furnishings, 1238, presumably followed slightly later by a redecoration; the fifteenth century additions, 1441 and 1483-1484; the sixteenth century remodeling, 1586-1587 and the following years; finally the twentieth century restorations, 1914-1919, 1936-1939 and 1955-1959 [5].

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

Should the "*dromos* building" indeed prove to have been a titulus, then a fascinating example of a *domus ecclesiae* would be seen at S. Sabina. However, in the absence of any positive evidence of a fourth century ecclesiastical structure, we can say only that the existing church presents an example of church building at the beginning of the fifth century and demonstrates, in its lavish decoration, abundant use of marble, and elegant proportions, the incipient stages of the classical renaissance of Sixtus III.

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[1] See above, Vol. II, p. 290 ff., and Vol. III, p. 71. Concerning the style of the mosaic pavement, Joel Hershman, in discussions at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York, University, has kindly pointed out parallels in late third and early fourth century houses at Ostia; see Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, IV, Rome, 1961, pl. 56.

[2] Darsy, 1961, p. 55 f.

[3] See above, fig. 422-440.

[4] *Ibid.*; see also Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 316 ff.

[5] See above, the corresponding digests.

S. SEBASTIANO

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Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*, 1651, I, pp. 154 ff.[1]

II. Ancient illustrations [2]

1560 Ménéstrier, plan of catacomb north of S. Sebastiano and drawing of chancel screen with votive inscription of 401-417 [3], pen and ink; *ms. cit.*, ff. 183, 247 (our figs. 121, 128).
1575 Lafréry, View from northeast [4], engraving; *Sette Chiese* (Hermanin, *Catalogo*, p. 31; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 236; our fig. 90).
1588 Fra Santi, View from northeast (copied from Lafréry), woodcut; *Cose maraviglìose*, c. 13.
1600 Maggi, View from northeast, engraving; Map of Rome, margin (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 283).
1625 Maggi, View from northwest, engraving; *Sette Chiese*.
1688 Vergelli, View from north, engraving; *Nuovo splendore di Roma*, III, Rome, 1688, pl. 36 (our fig. 87).

C. DATES

251—253 The sixth century compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* assigns to the pontificate of Pope Cornelius a transfer of the relics of Saints Peter and Paul from " *de Catacumbas* " to the Via Ostiensis and the Vatican respectively (*L.P.*, I, p. 150); but the authenticity of the account is questionable.
258 The Chronograph of 354, in the *Depositio martyrum*, records for the year 258 a festival of Saint Peter *in catacumbas*: " *III Kal. Jul. Petri in catacumbas et Pauli Ostiense Tusco et Basso cons* ". (Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* [Kleine Texte, 2], Bonn, 1911, p. 3). The text is presumably fragmentary and fuses the situation of 258 with that of 354. Possibly the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, in the early fifth century, transmits the original full version, referring to a joint festival of the Princes of the Apostles *in catacumbas*: " *III Kal. Jul. Romae natale sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Petri via Aurelia in Vaticano Pauli vero in Via Ostiensi utrumque in Catacumbas Basso et Tusco cons.*" (*AA.SS. Nov.*, II, 2, p. 343 84; see also the variants, *ibid.*, II, 1,

[1] Later descriptions are excluded because they do not contribute to the history of the early Christian structure.
[2] Except for the views of Maggi, 1625, and Vergelli, 1688, we list only illustrations antedating the rebuilding of 1609 to 1612.
[3] See below, dig. 401-417.
[4] Lafréry's view was copied with minor variations by van Aelst, *Sette Chiese*, 1589 and 1600; Duchet, *Sette Chiese*, 1590; Villamena, *Sette Chiese*, 1600, 1609, 1625 (Tolotti, *op. cit.*, 1953, fig. 59) and others. See Hülsen, *Saggio di Bibliografia ... delle Piante ... di Roma*, Florence, 1933, p. 10 f., n. 1.

p. 84 and Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender* ..., Münster, 1924, p. 20 ff.; also Lietzmann, 1927, p. 110 ff.).
260 A graffito on the wall of the *triclia* below S. Sebastiano records a *refrigerium* partaken in that year " ... SAECVL[*ari II*] ET DONAT[*o II cos*] " (Marichal, *op. cit.*, *Comptes-rendus* 1953, p. 64).
312—361 The threshold on the edge of the Via Appia in front of the church bears a monogram (fig. 120), referring either to Constantine I, 312-337 (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 27), to Constans, 337-350 (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 227 ff.), to Constantine II, 337-340, or to Constantius II, 337-361.
333—350 Coin of Constans, found in one of the tombs in the nave in front of the Albani chapel above the memoria enclosure (Styger, 1918, p. 44).
340—343 Fragments of epitaphs in museum, found in unspecified location in church (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 213).
345 Epitaph of a deceased married couple, " MARCELLINI ET PROBI " (341) and AMAN(*ti et al*)BINI (345) respectively; the slab, reused in 567 [1], was originally in either the basilica or an adjoining mausoleum (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 213 ff.).
Anonymous epitaph, " ... (*Aman*)TIO ET ALBINO (*conss*)... ", found below the present sacristy in the eastern part of the original south aisle and epitaph fragments of same date from unspecified location in church [2] (*ibid.*, p. 212).
347 Epitaph of Filuminus " BVLCACIO RVFINO E(*t Flavio Eusebio, conss*) " (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 4; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 112).
349 Epitaph of " ... FL.MI..LIME(*nio et Catullino conss.*) ", found *in situ* in the round mausoleum (Mausoleo degli Uranii) adjoining the southeast corner of the basilica (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 1). The mausoleum was built some time after the construction of mausoleum 43, which in turn is contemporaneous with the construction of the church (Marucchi, *op. cit.*, 1922, p. 114; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 216 ff.).
349 Epitaph of an unknown " (*Li*)MENIO ET CATULLINO CONS. ", found in the church portico (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 4; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 102).
350 Epitaph of " CIM(*inianus ... Sergio*) ET NIGRINIAN(*o conss*) ... ", found below the sacristy in the east part of the original south aisle (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 211); epitaph of Cassius Decents Julianus, found in chancel part (Styger, 1918, p. 37; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 212).
354 The chronograph of 354 records for January 20 the commemoration of " *Fabiani in Callisti et Sebastiani in Catacumbas* " (Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*, p. 3) and, for June 29, referring to the year 258, the festival of either Saint Peter or, more likely, Peter and Paul, *in catacumbas* [3].
357 Epitaph of Panigyrius, found *in situ* just south of center axis of nave, above the area of the memoria courtyard and niche and dated: " ... CONSTANTIO AVGVSTO VI [*et et i*] VLIANO I[*conss*] " (Styger, 1918, p. 27; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 5; Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 10; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 212).
359 Dated epitaph of Rufina, found inside a *forma* north of the nave center axis, above and west of the area of the memoria courtyard: " ...(*e*)VS(*eb*)IO EPATIO CONSVLIBVS " (Styger, 1918, p. 28; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 5). Epitaph of Gregorius, " EVSEBIO ET EPATIO CONSS ", found in fragments inside the high altar (Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 24). Epitaph of an unknown, found in fragments north of the basilica, near the sarcophagus of Fl. Patricius (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 11).
360 Dated sarcophagus of Fl. Patricius " CONSTANTIO AVG. X ET IVLIANO CAES(*are*) III CONS ... ", found inside a large mausoleum about 12 m. north of the basilica (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 8 ff.; De Bruyne, " Due nuovi sarcofagi paleocristiani con data consolare ", *R.A.C.* 27, 1951, p. 127 ff.).
361 Fragment of a nameless epitaph, found nearby (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 11).
366 Dated epitaph of Primenia, " ... (*gratiano et*) DAGALAIFO (*conss*) ... ", found in fragments in a grave near the north wall of the nave, east of the Albani chapel, above north end of the west front of the *triclia* (Styger, 1918, p. 29; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 5).
366—384 Pope Damasus dedicates a *platoma* " *in Catacumbas ubi iacuerant corpora sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* " and adorns it with an inscription in verses (*L.P.*, I, p. 212; cf. *ibid.*, p. 84).

[1] See below, dig. 567.
[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the epitaphs were found in fragments and not *in situ*. However, their positions and their worn condition suggest that all came from graves inside the church and as a rule from the *formae* on which they were found; see Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 28.
[3] See above, dig. 258.

The inscription, "*in basilica sci sebastiani*"; "*in via Appia in sancto Sebastiano*", is known from early *syllogae*, as well as from a thirteenth century marble copy still in the church (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 2). It claims the site as the burial place of the Apostles Peter and Paul: "*Hic habitasse prius...*" (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, 1, p. 32, no. 77; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, p. 139 ff., Denis-Boulet, *op. cit.*, 1967)[1].

A second inscription in verses by Damasus honoring the martyr Eutychius and recorded in 1563 on the nave wall was formerly seen "*superius iuxta ciborium quod est super altare sancti Sebastiani inmuro ...*" (De Waal, *op. cit.*, 1894, p. 116).

368 Anonymous epitaph, found in the east part of the nave "... (*Valentiniano et V*)ALENTE AVGG. II CONS ..." (Marucchi, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 102).

365—373 Epitaph of "CYRIACV(*s*)...FL. VA(*lentiniano et Fl.*)VALENTE AVGG...", found below the sacristy (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 210).

371 Epitaph of Sextilius Valentinus, "GRAT. ET PROBI (*conss.*)...", found in fragments in the nave (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 6); and anonymous epitaph, "GRATIANO III ET PROBO CONS.", found in mausoleum 42 (*ibid.*).

374 Fragment of anonymous dated epitaph, "... (*Gratiano III et e*)QVITIO CONS.", found in a *forma*, south of the Albani chapel above the area of the north loggia of the memoria courtyard (Styger, 1918, p. 29; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 6).

376—377 Dated epitaph found *in situ* adjoining the preceding one: "...(*Valente*) V ET VALENTINIANO AAGG CCSS" (Styger, 1918, p. 30; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 7).

366—384 or slightly later The transfer of the relics of Saint Quirinus into his mausoleum is recorded in a badly preserved inscription along its cornice (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 235 ff., for the inscription and discussion of date).

392 Dated sarcophagus of two ladies, "...CONS(*ulibus*) D.N. ARCADIO ITER ET RVFINO V.C." found inside a mausoleum north of the basilica, adjoining the sarcophagus of Fl. Patricius[2] (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 167; De Bruyne, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff.).

397 Fragments of an epitaph, found inside a *forma* near that of Primenia of 366, inside the nave, east of the Albani chapel: "...[*co*]NSS C[*ae*]SARIO ET [*attico*]" (Styger, 1918, p. 30[3]; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 8).

late IV cent. A hymn attributed to Saint Ambrose records the veneration of Saints Peter and Paul at sites along three roads in Rome: "*trinis celebratur viis*/*festum sacrorum martyrum*" (Migne, *P.L.*, 17, col. 1215), thus implying their joint veneration on the Via Appia (Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 197).

400 Epitaph of Matrona, "FL ISTELLICONI VC CONSS...", found *in situ* adjoining the *forma* of Panigyrius[4] (Styger, 1918, p. 28; Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 10).

402 Fragments of epitaph "(... *dd. nn. arcadio*) ET HONORI AVGG. V", found in the nave, near the epitaph of Primenia[5] (Styger, 1918 p. 30 f.).

401—417 Votive inscription to Saint Sebastian on a chancel screen: "TEMPORIBVS SANCTI INNOCENTI EPISCOPI PROCLINVS ET VRSVS PRAESBB TITVLI BYZANTI SANCTO MARTYRI SEBASTIANO EX VOTO FECERVNT", now at the Museo Cristiano ex-Lateranense (Diehl, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 347, no. 1776; De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, pp. 322, 440, nos. 3, 145; Ferrua, "I lavori di Proclinus ed Ursus a S. Sebastiano", *R.A.C.* 40 [1964], p. 287 ff.), formerly in the church (Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 35v; and Idem, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 93). It was seen by Bosio "... *altre volte* (i. e. formerly) *nel muro della scala per la quale dalla Chiesa si descendeva al ... Altare di S. Sebastiano...*" (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1632, p. 176; p. 1650, p. 252) and drawn by Ménéstrier (*ms. cit.*, f. 171) "*ad sinistrum latus Templi ... supra hostium catacumbarum*" (our fig. 128).

427 Fragments of epitaph, "... (*Hierio et Ardab*)VRE COS.", found in the ambulatory (Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 25).

432—440 Sixtus III establishes a convent "*in Catacumbas*"[6] (*L.P.*, I, p. 234; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 163 ff.).

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[1] This is an often accepted reading, but other codices read perhaps better, "*Hic habitare...*". Denis-Boulet, *op. cit.*, 1967, inclines toward dating the inscription as early as 357 when Damasus was the archdeacon of Pope Liberius.

[2] See above, dig. 360.

[3] The date 307, given by Styger, *loc. cit.*, is apparently a misprint.

[4] See above, dig. 356-57.

[5] See above, dig. 366.

[6] Bede, *De temporum ratione*, ed. Giles, *The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede in the Original Latin* ..., VI, London, 1843, p. 314; Migne,

V century The Acts of Saint Sebastian refer to his burial "*in initio cryptae iuxta vestigia apostolorum*" (*AA. SS. Jan.*, II, p. 642).

499 Epitaph found in the center of the nave: "... [*P.C.P*]AVLINI V [*c.?*]" (Styger, 1918, p. 31 f.; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pl. 9).

508 Epitaph of Clementinus, "CONS. BENANTI IVNIORIS", found *in situ* in the top stratum of graves in the ambulatory (Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 26).

567 Epitaph of "M(*aximi*)NVS LECTOR TITVLI SANCTORVM IOHANNIS ET PAVLI ... DOMNO NOSTRO IVSTINO ... AN(*no secun*)DO...", reusing an epitaph of 345[1] (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 514, no. 1123; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, pp. 213 ff.).

625—638 The *Itinerarium Salisburgense* lists as the principal relic of the church, the tomb of Saint Sebastian: "*Via Appia ad sem sebastianum mar. cuius corpus iacet in inferiore loco., et ibi sunt sepulcra apostolorum petri et pauli, in quibus XL. annorum requiescebant., et in occidentali parte eccl per gradus discendis ubi scs cyrinus ...*" (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 139).

638—642 The *Epitome de locis sanctorum* is the first reference that no longer designates the church as that of the apostles, but as the "*ecclesia ... sci Sebastiani mr. ubi ipse dormit ubi sunt et sepulturae apostolorum in quibus XL. annos quieverunt ...*" (*ibid.*, p. 141).

772—795 Hadrian I restores the church: "... *ecclesiam apostolorum foris porta Appia ... in loco qui appellatur Catacumbas ubi corpus beati Sebastiani martyris cum aliis quiescit in ruinis praeventam noviter restauravit*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 508).

795—816 Leo III donates textiles "*super sepulchrum beati Sebastiani martiris via Appia ad Catacumbas ... et inibi super tumbas apostolorum Petri ac Pauli ...*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 13).

826—827 With the consent of Pope Eugene II, Hilduin of St. Denis transfers to St. Médard at Soissons
844 relics of Saint Sebastian (Einhard, *Annales*, ad ann. 826, M.G.H., SS., I, p. 215; also *Einhardi Fuldenses Annales*, *ibid.*, p. 359 and *L.P.*, II, p. 83 n. 4). Other relics are transferred to an oratory at St. Peter's by Gregory IV: "*corpora beatorum martyrum Sebastiani, Gorgonii ac Tiburtii*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 74).

858—867 Nicholas I establishes a monastery "*Via Appia in cymiterio sancti ... Sebastiani in Catacumbas ubi apostolorum corpora iacuerunt*". He restores the "*cymeterium, quod multis ab annis ruerat*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 161; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 163 ff.).

1130—1143 The relics of St. Quirinus are transferred to S. Maria in Trastevere (Styger, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 21 f., citing *AA. SS. Jun.*, IV, p. 375).

1161 The church and monastery are given to the canons regular of S. Maria Nuova (Kehr, *It. Pont.* I, p. 163).

1167 The church and monastery are given to the Cistercians (*ibid.*, p. 162).

1216—1227 A chamber west of the apse and north of the Platonia, on a level between the church and the Platonia, is adorned with paintings (Styger, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 8 f.).

1218 Honorius III consecrates the altar of Saint Sebastian on the lower level, "*inferius iuxta ostium cryptae*"; inscription read by Don Sisto di Rocchis (Ratti, *op. cit.*, 1920, p. 144 f.) and transcribed by Panvinio (*Schedario*, f. 43; Idem, *De praecipuis... basilicis*, p. 97; see also Pesarini, *ms. cit.*, f. 383). Apparently, Honorius also consecrates the high altar in the apse, since a coin of his was found inside the altar (Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 24).

1254—1261 The church and monastery are given to the regular Lateran canons (Mancini-Pesci, p. 15).

1431—1447 In 1431 Eugenius IV restores the church and monastery to the Cistercians (*ibid.*) and during his pontificate repairs the church: "... *ecclesiam sancti Sebastiani ... quom praeteritorum praesentisque saeculi incuria praelatorum ruere permisisset, tu Eugeni ... nuper restaurasti ...*" (Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, 1527, c. 42v).

1452 Nikolaus Muffel refers to the church as "*sand Sebastian und Fabian*" (*op. cit.*, p. 36).

1466—1469 The Cistercian abbot Giuliano de Varis renovates the pavements in the nave and the portico: three marble slabs incorporated into present nave floor bear his coat of arms and the inscription IVLIANVS ABBAS FIERI FECIT MCCCCLXVI (Styger, 1918, p. 5, fig. 1). Ugonio saw two inscriptions in the portico, one of them above the door: "*Fabianus Abbas de Varis de Roma fieri fecit*" (*Schedario Ferrara*, transcribed by Pesarini, *ms. cit.*, f. 387v).

1471—1484 The portico receives a brick pavement, containing arms of Pope Sixtus IV (Ratti, *op. cit.*, 1920, p. 142).

(*P. L.*, 90, col. ff.) attributes the building of Damasus' Platonia to Sixtus, evidently because he misinterpreted the passage "[xystus] constituit ... platoma in cymiterio calisti ..." (*L. P.*, I, p. 234).

[1] See above, dig. 345.

1511 The new abbot, Don Sisto di Rocchis, has the church whitewashed and adorned by Francesco da Como and its roof repaired. The Chapel of Saint Stephen at the west end of the church is finished, and its images restored or remade (*ibid.*, p. 141).

1565 The altar of the relics (or of Saint Fabian) is moved from the middle of the nave to the south wall: "*In media ecclesia fuit olim altare reliquiarum quod ante aliquot annos loco illo motum, laeva basilicae parieti appositum est*" (Panvinio, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 99; when writing his preliminary notes, Panvinio still saw the altar at its original place; *Schedario*, f. 43).

1609—1612 The church is remodeled according to the designs of Flaminio Ponzio, who executes them "*insino alla cornice*", and Giovanni Vasanzio, who completes the work (Baglione, *Vite*, 1642, pp. 135, 175; 1733, pp. 128, 165). Cardinal Scipio Borghese finances the remodeling; inscriptions on the exterior of the side door: PAVLO V PONT OPTIMO MAXIMO ANN. MDCIX. IN HONOREM SANCTI MARTYRIS SEBASTIANI. SCIPIO CARD. BURGHESIVS (similar inscriptions are inside the door and on the lantern); on the interior east wall: SCIPIO CARD. BVRGHESIVS...PAVLI V PONTIFICIS MAXIMI NEPOS... BASILICAM VETVSTATE COLLABENTEM RESTITVIT AVXIT ORNAVIT ANNO DOMINI MDCXIII; and on the façade: SCIPIO CARD. BVRGHESIVS S.R.E. MAIOR POENITENTIARIVS AN. DOM. MDCXII" (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, XII, p. 151 ff.; see also Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 663: "... *il Cardinale Borghese ... ad una bella proporzione la ridusse, uguagliandola al piano della strada con farci doppia piazza ... vi fece un bel soffitto, accomodò gli altari ...*"). The Altar of Saint Sebastian is moved from the crypt below the east part of the nave to the apsed chapel on the south side: "*havendo ... ridotto questa chiesa in una bellissima forma, fu conchiuso che al piano di essa in una cappella s'inalzasse il corpo del santo Martire Sebastiano con la stessa arca ... in tanto che non mutasse luogo se non dal basso all'alto ...*" (*ibid.*, p. 664); "*Cardinal Borghese ... ha fatto trasportare in chiesa l'altare ... di S. Sebastiano che era nel cimitero di Calisto*" (Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1653, p. 28; see also Severano, *Sette Chiese*, p. 450). A porch and stairs are added to the north flank of the Platonia: "PAVLO V ... ANNO MDCXV ... SCIPIO CARD. BURGHESIVS ..." (inscription on lintel of door). The church and monastery are given to the reformed Cistercian order (Franzini, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

1666 The high altar is dedicated to Saint Sebastian and other Saints (Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 24).

1672 The chapel of Saint Sebastian enclosing the transferred altar is redecorated by Ciro Ferri with the backing of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, XII, p. 153; Titi, *Ammaestramento di pittura*, 1686, p. 57; Panciroli-Posterla-Cecconi, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 460).

1712 The west half of the north aisle of the original church is removed to make way for the tomb chapel of the Albani family; dedicated to Saint Fabian, it was financed by Clement XI and designed and decorated following plans of Carlo Fontana (or Carlo Maratta?) by Alessandro Specchi and Filippo Barigioni (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, XII, p. 155 f.; Panciroli-Posterla-Cecconi, *op. cit.*, p. 459; Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture*, p. 70).

1826 Leo XII gives the church and monastery to the Minorite order, which takes posession in 1829 [1], (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, XII, p. 160; Mancini-Pesci, p. 15).

1892—1894 Excavations in the Platonia (for bibliography from 1892 to 1895, see above, p. 99).

1908 Excavation of the (Domus Petri) (for bibliography of 1912, see above, p. 99).

1915—1921 An extensive excavation campaign leads to the discovery of graves in the basilica; of the *triclia*, *cortile* and memoria; of *columbaria*, Roman mausolea and the villa (for bibliography from 1915 to 1922, see above, p. 99).

1923—1931 Excavation of the ambulatory and aisles.

1935—1936 Excavation of the memoria (Prandi, *op. cit.*, 1936).

1952—1961 Excavation of mausolea adjoining the basilica (Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 13 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 151 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 203 ff.).

[1] Kehr, *It. Pont.* I, p. 162, assigns the transfer to the Minorite order to the pontificate of Gregory XVI, 1831-1846.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The basilica of S. Sebastiano stands on the right side of the Appian Way, about a mile south of Porta S. Sebastiano. Opposite it, though slightly further south, the tomb of Romulus and the Circus of Maxentius lie in the same valley [1]. The countryside around it is strewn with remains of ancient tombs and cemeteries, and several catacomb galleries extend beneath the building itself, emerging at ground level within the circuit of its walls. It was through a gallery which emerges inside the basilica of S. Sebastiano that pilgrims entered the portion of the catacomb of Calixtus, further north, as far as it remained accessible in the middle ages.

Set at right angles to the Via Appia, the basilica is oriented from northeast to southwest, but for convenience we will hereafter speak of the high altar as at the west end and the entrance at the east end of the complex.



(Nuovo splendore di Roma, III, pl. [illegible])

Fig. 87. S. Sebastiano. Vergelli, View of church from north, 1688

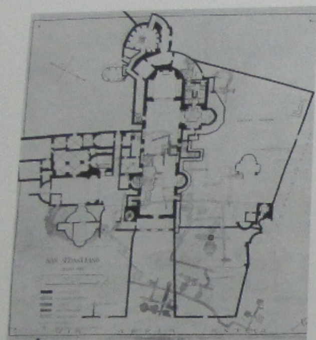
The east façade, of early seventeenth century design, stands 32 m. back from the road; it is about 2 m. below the road and is preceded by a downward-sloping forecourt. The entrance is sheltered by an arcaded narthex (fig. 87) with a single large chamber above, approached by a graceful staircase of oval plan (pl. VII). A single doorway opens into the nave, a spacious hall, whose walls are covered with seventeenth century stucco work (fig. 88). The nave terminates at a chancel arch. Beyond it the chancel is square in plan, with diagonal corners. It is surmounted by a dome on pendentives, encased in an octagonal drum and crowned by a tall octagonal lantern. The building of the façade and narthex, the remodeling of the nave and chancel and their decoration were financed by



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 88. S. Sebastiano. Nave of present church

[1] Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas: Aspects of Fourth Century Architectural Style in Rome*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1964.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 89. S. Sebastiano. Fasiolo, Plan, 1915



(Sette Chiese, detail)

Fig. 90. S. Sebastiano. Lafréry, View of church from northeast, 1575

Cardinal Scipio Borghese, designed by Flaminio Ponzio and Giovanni Vasanzio and executed between 1609 and 1612. As part of the remodeling Cardinal Borghese had the relics of Saint Sebastian moved from their resting place below the nave to an apsed chapel adjoining the south wall of the nave not far from the façade[1]. A few meters west from the entrance to the chapel of Saint Sebastian two parallel stairs of different width descend inside the nave to a large rectangular underground chamber, the crypt of Saint Sebastian, where his relics were sheltered until 1609-1612. Possibly enlarged from a catacomb gallery, it offers access to the corridors of the catacomb which extend below the east portion of the nave and to its south, east and north. Other stairs descend to the catacomb on the south of the nave, east of the chapel of Saint Sebastian, and on the north side near the middle of the nave. Some ten meters west of this last entrance, a few meters in front of the chancel arch, an ornate opening flanked by columns of *cipollino* leads into the chapel of Saint Fabian, the mausoleum of the Albani family erected in 1712[2]. A plan of the church as it looked in 1915 appears in Fasiolo's survey (fig. 89).

The presence of the Crypt of Saint Sebastian and the other entrances to the catacomb, if nothing else, leave no doubt that the church must be much older than the early seventeenth century. Indeed, its layout prior to that time

[1] See above, dig. 1609-1612.
[2] See above, dig. 1712.

is known from descriptions and views from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries (fig. 90). A forecourt enclosed by walls on three sides preceded the church and was reached from the road through a portal that was protected by a porch and flanked by columns with lion protomae projecting above the capitals[1]. The church itself consisted of only the main nave with a narthex supported by six columns, the outer two banked by the side walls of the narthex. The plan is typical of the medieval narthex in Rome but was apparently restored in 1469[2]. Three steps descended from the forecourt to the narthex and nine more from there into the church[3]. Hence, the forecourt was presumably on the level of the Via Appia, roughly 1.80 m. above nave level. Above the lean-to roof of the narthex, the old views show traces on either side of the façade of a round arched window, blocked except for a small, apparently Romanesque window; a large oculus appears in the center, filled with tracery. Inside, the nave was paved near the entrance with *opus vermiculatum* and further back with brick tiles, and it carried an open timber roof[4]. The altar of Saint Fabian rose in the middle of the nave; still the main altar of the church in 1511, it had lost this position by 1563 and was then known as the altar of relics[5], while the altar in the apse, dedicated to Saint Stephen, had then become the high altar[6]. Two more altars rose in the Crypt of Saint Sebastian: one consecrated to him in 1218 and facing west, sheltered by a canopy; the other, of Saint Lucina, joined to it but facing east and supposedly consecrated on November 12 of an unknown year by Pope Cornelius[7]. Correspondingly, in the early sixteenth century the east half of the church was dedicated to Saints Fabian and Sebastian, the west half to the Pope Saint Stephen[8]. The floor of the crypt was paved with *opus sectile*; of the stairs leading into it, one served the descent, the other the ascent[9]. Finally, according to Panvinio, there were several side altars placed against the walls of the nave[10]. On the outside, the sixteenth century visitors saw numerous mausolea crowding against the side of the church. They also realized that the nave was but part of a building originally provided with aisles and with an ambulatory enveloping the apse[11].

[1] See Ugonio, *Schedario Ferrara*, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 387: " ... *nel primo incontro si trova una porta quadra sul ma volto sopra due colonne sopra (!) cui capitelli stanno all'uso antico due mezzi leoni di marmo* ".

[2] See Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 384: " *porticum ante basilicam fecit abbas tritonius de Vario ... Basilica ante se habet vestibulum memorandum* (?) *porticum ante portam una cum sex columnis et duobus pilastris ...* ". See also Ugonio, *Schedario Ferrara*, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 387v: " (the abbot) *Giuliano de Vario nel 1464 ... rifece il portico ... sotto Sisto IV l'arme del quale è nel pavimento dentro al portico ... Si regge sopra sei belle colonne ...* ". One of the columns must have been set up sometime in the sixteenth century in place of a missing one: di Rocchis describes the " *porticus cum columnis quinque ... cum suis capitellis et basibus ...* " (Ratti, op. cit., 1920, p. 142).

[3] See Ugonio, *Schedario Ferrara*, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 387v: " *Al portico si sale per tre scalini ... Si scende in chiesa per nove scalini di marmo ...* ".

[4] See Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 384: " *Basilica non habet nisi unam navem, tectum ligneum; prioris partis solum lapideum posterioris lateritium* ". See also Ugonio, *Schedario Ferrara*, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 387: " ... *si conosce d'essere anticamente stato lastricato d'intarsio ...* ".

[5] See di Rocchis (Ratti, op. cit., 1920, p. 142 f.): " ... *in medio dictae ecclesiae est altare Sancti Fabiani ... quod altare ... est principale altare et dicitur altare Pontificis* ". See, on the other hand, Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 383: " *In media ecclesia est altare ... ubi est Corona Christi et figura pedum Christi* "; and Panvinio, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 99: " *In media ecclesia fuit olim altare reliquiarum ... in quo ... tabula marmorea cum vestigiis pedum ... Christi ... una de spinis Coronae ...* ".

[6] See di Rocchis (Ratti, op. cit., 1920, p. 142): " *In capite ecclesiae ... est altare Sancti Stephani ... cuius corpus sub craticula ferrea retro ...* "; and Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 383v: " ... *est ante* (i. e., the apse) *altare maius retro quod sub crates ferrea iacet corpus sancti Stephani ...* "; also Idem, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 98.

[7] See di Rocchis (Ratti, op. cit., 1920, p. 145): " ... *ubi iacet corpus sancti Sebastiani sunt duo altaria quasi in una et eadem structura: videlicet altare parvum, quod respicit versus portam magnam ... ecclesiae ... consecratum a sancto Cornelio papa duodecima die ... novembris tempore sanctae Lucinae ...; et altare maius quod respicit ad scalam descendentem de ecclesia ... consecratum a papa Honorio ...* ". Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43, (transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 383) and Idem, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, 97, quotes the dedicatory inscription of Honorius III of 1218, containing the list of relics, and confirms the position of the two altars; see also below, note 9.

[8] See Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium*, p. 129: " *Ecclesia ... ab ingressu ... usque ad medium ubi ara beati Fabiani in medio visitur in honorem ipsius Fabiani et Sebastiani ... ab altare vero ... Fabiani usque ad tribunam ... in honorem divi Stephani papae et martyris dicata est* ".

[9] See Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43v, transcribed by Pesarini, ms. cit., f. 384: " *scala per quam multis gradibus descenditur ad ostium cryptae prope quod est pulcherrimum altare ... tessalatum cum cyborio marmoreo et quattuor columnis. Ibidem prope est alia scala qua ascenditur in ecclesia: in propinquo altari alio est corpus sanctae Lucinae. Tota illa area altari inferior est pavimentata tessellata ...* ".

[10] Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43; and Idem, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 99.

[11] Di Rocchis (Ratti, op. cit., 1920, p. 145), speaking of the south flank, refers to a " *templum antiquum pro foeno et stabulo* ", presumably



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 91. S. Sebastiano, View of apse and ambulatory from southwest, 1915

Indeed, Panvinio was correct in recognizing the church as a very old building, " *aedificium antiquum* ". Viewing it from the outside (fig. 91), one clearly sees below the seventeenth century drum of the chancel a clerestorey wall of *opus listatum* which runs along the nave and curves around in an unbroken sweep to form a western apse, without setback or shoulder. Concentric with this curve and parallel with the nave walls, an outer perimeter wall encloses many of the chapels and annexed chambers which surround the nave. Thus it is evident that this church belongs to the peculiar group of U-shaped basilicas with ambulatory, five of which are now known, all of them on the outskirts of Rome and at least four of them associated with places of burial [1].

Clearly, the original structure has been obscured by later alterations. Above ground, the original outer wall of the north aisle has disappeared except at the east end, but a modern wall has

the rotunda, no. 41. PANVINIO, *Schedario*, f. 43 (transcribed by PESARINI, *ms. cit.*, f. 383v f.) was more precise: " *Circa ipsam ecclesiam sunt multa aedificia antiqua tam Christianorum quam gentilium. Et primo a laeva intrantibus est aedicula magna testudinata et rotunda cum octo fenestris et tribus absidibus ... quam in.... ecclesiam translatam indicant picturae ecoletur ... Post est aliud coenum quadratum cum porticu et duabus absidibus ante portam ... circum a dextro latere sunt multa absidarum vestigia et ecclesiarum ... alia absida in atrio, alia in via, aliae absidulae parvae; item sepulchrum rotundum ...* ". He also noted of the nave: " *Ecclesia e medio infra est antiqua. Fuit olim tota arcuata: muratis arcis et addito supra eos pariete facta est basilica ... fuit olim tota fenestrata nunc pro maiori parte fenestrae muratae ...* " and of the apse: " *Post sequitur ipsa absida quae olim fuit aedificium antiquum arcuatum apertum nunc arcis clausis et ex dimidiato facta est absida ... additis aliis supra et circa parietibus ...* ". (Panvinio thus apparently considered the apse and ambulatory a round Roman building, later transformed). See also UGONIO, *Schedario Ferrera*, transcribed by PESARINI, *ms. cit.*, f. 387v: " *... e una nave sola; anchorche (questo vedro poi meglio) la cappella delle reliquie che si regge sopra due colonne numidicie paia vestigio della nave antica ch'ella forse ebbe tre navi...* ".

[1] These include S. Sebastiano, S. Agnese (see above, Vol. I, p. 14 ff.); S. Lorenzo f. l. m. (see above, Vol. II, p. 93 ff.), SS. Marcellino e Pietro (see above, p. 191 ff.); and a basilica on the grounds of the Villa dei Gordiani (see GATTI, " Una basilica di età costantiniana recentemente riconosciuta presso la Via Prenestina ", *Capitolium* 35, 6 [1960], p. 3 ff.). For a discussion of the monuments known in 1958, see KRAUTHEIMER, " Mensa-Coemeterium-Basilica ", *Cahiers archéologiques* 11 (1960), p. 15 ff.

been built on the old foundations; the restored east half of the north aisle is now used as a lapidarium for fragments of sculpture and inscriptions brought to light during the excavations of the past fifty years. The west half of the north aisle was removed altogether in the eighteenth century to make room for the Albani chapel and its annexes. The west ambulatory, on the other hand, remains almost intact, though restored. Two rectangular chambers which were built inside it (fig. 89) were removed after 1915, and the open semicircular sweep, rebuilt in its upper parts, was put to use as another lapidarium [1]. Externally, the southwest quadrant of the ambulatory perimeter wall is partly obscured by a semicircular burial chamber, the Mausoleum of Quirinus, known as the " Platonia " [2] (pl. VII; figs. 89, 91 [roof, left edge]); added at an early date, it was known in the sixteenth century and presumably earlier as the *catacumbae* [3]. On its north side the Platonia is flanked by a Baroque porch and stairs, added by Cardinal Borghese (fig. 87) [4].

The west part of the south aisle was removed in the Middle Ages to make room for a cloister but was rebuilt in 1929; it serves today as yet another lapidarium. The modern outer wall stands on the original foundations which, in conformity to the steep gradient of the terrain, are deeper on the south side of the church than on the north. To the east, the south aisle lapidarium terminates at the medieval campanile, which stands close to the nave wall, about half way along it. South and east of the campanile much of the basilica is hidden by the structure of a large convent building (fig. 91). Partly medieval and partly Baroque, this building incorporates the walls of several mausolea which were attached to the south flank of the basilica in Early Christian times. At the southeast corner of the basilica no trace remains of the original structure, but the walls of the modern vestibule, through which visitors to the catacombs and excavations now enter, are presumably set on ancient foundations.

Excavations organized in a series of campaigns over the past seventy years have established the plan of the basilica and of the adjoining mausolea and have revealed many buildings antecedent to the present church. The first campaigns, 1892 to 1894, identified the " Platonia " as the mausoleum of the martyr Quirinus. In 1908 a mausoleum was discovered attached to the south springing of the ambulatory, the " *Domus Petri* " (pl. VII, no. 48). An intensive campaign, lasting from 1915 to 1921, uncovered first the graves covering the floor of the nave and, below, the *triclia*, its courtyard and the memoria; then the Roman mausolea below the northwest half of the nave; finally, those further down around the so-called *piazzuola*, under the west part of the nave and the south aisle, and the villa below the apse and the ambulatory. From 1923 to 1931 the ambulatory and the aisles were excavated, while a new campaign in 1935 to 1936 clarified the history of the memoria. Finally, between 1952 and 1961, the mausolea adjoining the basilica were dug up and investigated.

The finds of structures antecedent to the basilica have raised innumerable questions as to their original form and purpose, but four principal phases can be distinguished clearly (fig. 92); (a) the villa under the southeast quadrant of the apse and ambulatory, between 6.80 m. and 6.90 m. below floor level; (b) a double row of Roman mausolea at a depth of about 5 m. under the northwest half of the nave and the north quadrant of the ambulatory; (c) three mausolea standing beside the *piazzuola*, which lies under the west part of the nave 9 m. below church level and extends into the area of the south aisle; (d) lastly, in the same area as the *piazzuola* but at a depth of only

[1] The location of the chambers is seen in the plan drawn by FASOLO, *op. cit.*, in 1915 (fig. 89).

[2] Its roof is visible in fig. 91, left foreground.

[3] PANVINIO, *Schedario*, f. 43, transcribed by PESARINI, *ms. cit.*, f. 385v: " *Catacumbae locus est in formam arcus subterraneus, habet fornicem testudinatam cum quattuor spiraculis, habet sepulchra circum circa lateritia numero XIIII ...* ". See also IDEM, *De praecipuis ... basilicis*, p. 96 f., and in ROCCHIS (RATTI, *op. cit.*, 1920, p. 142).

[4] See above, dig. 1609-1612.

2 to 3.5 m. below floor level, the memoria, the *triclia* and the courtyard, which were erected after the *piazzuola* had been filled in. The memoria enclosure is bounded to the east by a wall which crosses the area of the nave from north to south, about halfway between the church façade and the apse. These elements will be discussed in the following pages only to the extent that they affect the structural history of the basilica. The excavations have also disclosed the substructures of the church itself, revealing large tracts of the foundation walls and the remains of many mausolea which were subsequently attached to its flanks. But before anything else could be uncovered, the excavators had to remove hundreds of graves which were crowded together over the whole area of the church floor (fig. 117 *a* and *b*). In the east part of the nave, east of the transverse wall which bounds the memoria enclosure, the graves were in a single layer. On the other hand, west of the transverse wall, and in the apse and north quadrant of the ambulatory, burials were discovered in four or five superimposed layers. The numerous dated epitaphs, reaching from 345 to 567 and found in part *in situ*, both in the basilica and in the adjoining mausolea, provide *termini ante quem* and *ad quem* for these structures.

E. Analysis

1. Antecedent buildings[1]

The lower levels of earlier occupation beneath the basilica are outside the scope of this work, and in describing them we confine ourselves to outlining their position in the area later occupied by the basilica. The hillside slopes up from south to north and more steeply from west to east. A Roman road, paved with small polygonal *selce* blocks, ascends the hill in its northerly course and passes close to the apex of the U-shaped outer wall[2] (pl. VII; fig. 92). At the point where its surface has been exposed, a little south of the axis of the basilica, the road lies 10 m. below the present nave floor.

a) The villa

A building, generally referred to as a villa, stands on the east side of the road. Its façade is parallel with the curb of the road but is set back 1.70 m. Its style of masonry, reticulate with tufa quoins, suggests a date in the first century A.D. The complex is approximately square in plan, measuring some 20 m. in each direction. Numerous chambers in at least two stories surround a central courtyard (fig. 101). Because of the inclination of the terrain, the court, paved with large white tesserae, lies about 3 m. higher than the road, between 6.80 m. and 6.90 m. below the church floor level. In relation to the subsequently built basilica, the villa corresponds in position approximately with the south half of the " D " which constitutes the west end of the U-shaped plan; its north wall is parallel with and 1.5 m. right of the central axis of the basilica. Tombs inserted in the steps which lead from the courtyard to the principal chamber of the villa suggest that the building may have served as a place of burial at an early date.

[1] For extensive reports on the finds and their often controversial interpretation, see the bibliography listed above, beginning 1918, and in particular Styger, 1918, 1925 and 1935; von Gerkan, in: Lietzmann, 1927; Prandi, 1936 and 1942-43; Schneider, 1951; Tolotti, 1953; Klauser, 1956.

[2] The alignment of the ancient road is perpetuated today in the side road which leads from Via delle Sette Chiese to Cardinal Borghese's Baroque entrance to the Platonia.

b) The arenarium

A tufa quarry, an *arenarium*, lies east of the villa, though at a much lower level, 12.50 m. below the church floor[1]. Five corridors and some chamber-like indentations extended from a roughly pentagonal pit, the one to the east sheltering a simple grave. The date of the quarry cannot be determined, nor is it clear whether it preceded, followed or was contemporaneous with the building of the villa.

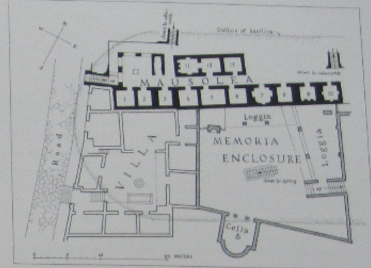


Fig. 92. S. Sebastiano. Villa, mausolea, and memoria, plan

c) Roman mausolea

1. *Northeast of the villa.*

Adjoining the villa to the north, there extends a group of Roman tomb chambers[2] (pl. VII; fig. 92). They were approached from the road by a flight of steps which ascends east from the roadside to gain, after several turns, a small mosaic-paved courtyard, raised 2.75 m. above the level of the adjacent villa. The difference in level results in part from the gradient of the hill but also because the court lies over a tomb chamber on a lower level. Three mausolea lined the south side of the court, and a well-like opening in the middle illuminated the burial chamber underneath. A passage opening from the southeast corner of the court seems to have communicated indirectly with a street of tombs running east-west, nearly parallel with the alignment

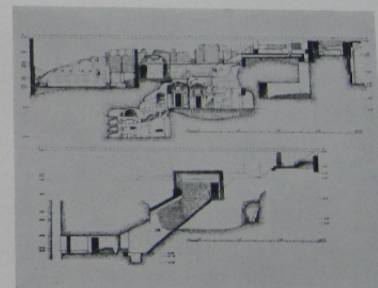


Fig. 93. S. Sebastiano. Sections through villa, mausolea and triclia (above); and through staircase to spring (below)

[1] Styger, 1918, p. 99 ff.; Tolotti, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 82 ff. and fig. 25; Prandi, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 10 ff. and pl. 6.

[2] Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 28 ff.

of the basilica. Rows of small rectangular mausolea flank each side of the street; seven of them (nos. 4 to 10 on fig. 92) survive on the south side and three (nos. 11 to 13) on the north side[1]. Since the hillside rises eastward, the eastern tombs are more truncated than those to the west and, after mausoleum no. 10, all trace of the street is lost in the foundations of the basilica walls.

2. *In the area of the arenarium*

South of the street of tombs and east of the villa, a group of three lavish Roman mausolea have been found. They had been obliterated by changes in the ground level quite some time before the construction of the basilica (figs. 93; 96, bottom, left)[2]. The entrance thresholds of these mausolea lay 9 m. below church floor level and thus much lower than the street of tombs to the north. The great depth of these mausolea is due to their being constructed in the side of the former quarry which was partly filled in to create a small plaza, the *piazzuola*, in front of the tombs. The tombs are entered through very classical façades revetted with brick, from which long flights of steps descend to the rock-hewn tomb-chambers 3.50 m. down, which were in part inserted into the corridors and indentations of the arenarium. The walls of the stairs and their inclined barrel vaults are revetted with rich stucco decorations. The masonry of the façade and the style of the stuccoes suggest a date soon after the middle of the second century A.D. The three mausolea were probably constructed in succession, beginning with that of Clodius Hermes to the right (as one faces the entrances), continuing with the tomb of the Innocentiores and ending with the " Mausoleo dell'Ascia ". An epitaph in the mausoleum of the Innocentiores, dated 249, leaves no doubt that the mausolea were still in use at that time, an important fact when taken together with Christian graffiti which are scratched on the stucco walls. Subsequently the *arenarium* was filled in completely and the three façades were buried to make a level area for the courtyard of the memoria.

d) CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

1. *The catacomb*

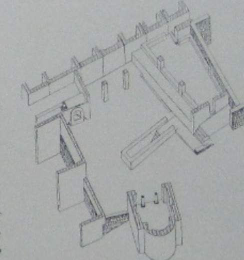
A gallery of the *arenarium* opening in the east quarter of the *piazzuola* became the start of a catacomb which developed to the north and east, presumably in the course of the third century. At least two stairways linked the galleries of this catacomb with the street of tombs which stood above it (fig. 92). West of mausoleum no. 11, a passage branches north from the street and immediately descends into the hillside by a steep flight of steps which gives access to the catacomb. A similar stairway nearly parallel to the first descends into the catacomb opposite mausoleum no. 10. A third entrance may have existed from the start in the area now occupied by the southeast corner of the nave; it apparently led into a gallery which was subsequently enlarged to form the crypt of Saint Sebastian.

2. *The memoria and the triclia.*

The most important Christian monument on the site before the basilica was built is the memoria enclosure, comprising the memoria proper to the west, the courtyard and, to the east, the *triclia* (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 92, 94, 95). The entire complex lies east of the villa and south of the street of

[1] Mausoleum no. 11, a *columbarium*, was first published by FORNARI, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 355 ff.
[2] See PRANDI, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 20 ff. and pls. 7, 8; and TOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 87 ff., figs. 27, 28, 29.

tombs, but it is much higher, being 2 to 3.5 m. below the church floor. To create it, the *piazzuola* was filled in, obliterating the entrances to the three lavish Roman mausolea. The memoria complex consists of a trapezoid-shaped enclosure measuring 23 m. from east to west and 18 m. from north to south (pl. 5 VII; VIII, transverse section). The north side of this enclosure is formed by the rear walls, in reticulate, of the street of tombs (figs. 92, 94). The west side is bounded by a wall, 0.60 m. thick and built of *opus incertum* consisting of small basalt stones. This wall stands nearly at right angles to the street of tombs and is incorporated in the east wall of the villa; it evidently existed before the villa was built and may date from the first century B. C. The east side of the enclosure is nearly parallel to the west wall and is built of the same basalt *opus incertum*. The south boundary, also of the same material, meets the west wall in an obtuse angle 16 m. south of the row of mausolea. The juncture between the south and east walls has not yet been discovered, but if the walls were straight they would converge about 22 m. south of the street of tombs and about 3 m. outside the south wall of the present basilica[1].



(Tolotti, 1953, fig. 15)
Fig. 94. S. Sebastiano. Memoria courtyard, triclia and (foreground) cella 8, isometric view

This trapezoidal enclosure on the hillside contained what might at first seem to be elements of a rustic *trattoria* (figs. 94, 95). The central feature was a brick-paved couryard. In its center a steep flight of steps descended into the earth, leading to a small rock-cut chamber, about 6 m. below the villa courtyard, with a spring of water (fig. 93; pl. VIII). To the north and east, the courtyard was bounded by loggias. Their lean-to tiled roofs rested on masonry pillars in front and on the perimeter walls at the back (figs. 94, 95; fig. 96, upper right, shows the piers of the north loggia). The rising terrain caused the eastern loggia (the *triclia*) to be raised about 1.25 m. above the rest of the courtyard. The east wall of this loggia crossed the area of the present church about halfway between the façade and the apse; it is the eastern boundary of the enclosure and rises to within 0.15 m. of the present church floor (pl. VIII, transverse section). The three walls of the *triclia* bore frescoes representing birds, animals and flowers. But hundreds of graffiti scratched into the frescoed plaster invoke the names of Saint Peter and Saint Paul and refer to *refrigeria* partaken in their memory[2]. Hence, instead of an ordinary *trattoria*, the establishment must have been a *memoria apostolorum* where Christians gathered to celebrate memorial banquets (*refrigeria*) in honor of the Princes of the Apostles. The well (pl. VIII, longitudinal section; fig. 97), rather than being the core from which the entire cult center developed[3], was a natural accessory to these *refrigeria*, as indicated by the Christian graffiti found in a niche halfway down the stairs to the rock-cut well

[1] VON GERKAN, *op. cit.*, in: LIETZMANN, 1927, p. 248 ff.; SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, *passim*; PRANDI, *op. cit.*, 1936, pp. 38 ff., pls. 1-4; TOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 185 ff., figs. 41, 42, 43. The earlier phases of the memoria as reconstructed by TOLOTTI, p. 141 ff., 154 ff., seem to us difficult to prove.
[2] STYGER, 1918, p. 57 ff.; IDEM, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 33 f.
[3] MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, 1922, p. 18 ff.; but see also TOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1953, pp. 148 ff., 279 ff.



(Styger, 1935, pl. 16)

Fig. 95. S. Sebastiano. Reconstruction of memoria courtyard, triclia and stairs descending

chamber. Since one of the graffiti in the *triclia* supplies a consular date corresponding with A.D. 260, the entire *memoria apostolorum* must certainly have been in use at that time[1].

The courtyard in front of the *triclia* supplies further evidence of the area's religious character (fig. 92, 94). Adjacent to the villa, the west flank of the court had originally been occupied by a long barrel-vaulted chamber, 4 m. wide[2]. It abutted on the west against the villa wall, while to the east it was bounded by a neatly built brick wall (figs. 96, middle ground, right; 98, left); but in the final stage before the construction of the basilica, the ground level of the court had been raised to within 1.5 m. of the apex of the vault, and the vault and the greater part of the long chamber were demolished. The only thing left above ground was the northernmost 2.5 m. of the concrete vault, which protruded above the brick pavement of the court to create a platform 1.5 m. high in the northeast corner of the memoria enclosure. The east side of the platform is formed by the wall of the chamber; its south side was merely the broken or rudely hacked end of the concrete vault. A niche-shaped structure facing south was erected against the south side of this protuberance and to some extent was inserted beneath the intrados of the antecedent vault (figs. 96, middle ground, center; 98). The upper part of the monument has perished and we have no idea how

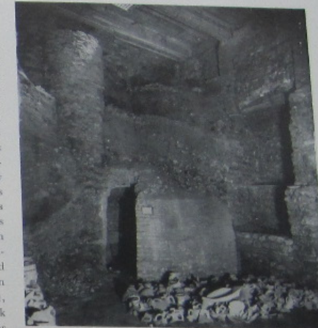


(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 96. S. Sebastiano. View across memoria courtyard (middle ground), showing north loggia (right edge), memoria niche (center background; see also fig. 98) and the Roman mausolea (bottom left foreground)

[1] MARICHAL, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Prior to Marichal's discovery, SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, p. 15, had dated both the *triclia* and the piazza about 300.
[2] PRANDI, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 29 ff., 43 ff.

high it was; all that remains is a low rectangular block of *opus listatum* masonry measuring 0.75 m. by 1.90 m. in plan and standing 1.20 m. high. Within this block the lower part of the niche survives; its base is 0.55 m. above the brick pavement of the court. The opening is 1.04 m. wide, and the recess was revetted with marble plates. Since the monument is only 1.90 m. wide while the antecedent barrel vault spanned nearly 4 m., a small segmental space was left on either side. These passages were blocked up with rough walls of *opus listatum*, resting on the earth which filled up the former chamber. Associated with the niched monument (but the exact position of the discovery is not recorded), the excavators found part of a brick columm shaft revetted with plaster and painted to represent marble; ist overall diameter is 44.5 cm. It too bore a roughly scratched inscription invoking "...PETRI ET PAVLI IN MENTE..."[1].



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 97. S. Sebastiano. Well shaft (left), passage way (center) and ambulatory substructure with fin walls and loculi shelves (right), 1924

Another important feature of the memoria enclosure projected from its south side. Known as cella δ it is a rectangular exedra apsed (pls. VII; VIII, transverse section; figs. 92, 94, 99)[2]. The entrance to the cella is 3.80 m. wide and located 4.80 m. from the southwest corner of the enclosure. Two columns between the *antae* divided it into a wide central opening flanked by narrower apertures. Figure 99 shows, on the right, the base of the west column of cella δ. Left of the fin wall projecting from the *listatum* foundation of the basilica (second from right on fig. 99) an aperture coincides with the east *anta;* the east column base is enclosed in the fin wall. Internally, cella δ is 4.70 m. wide and 3.80 m. deep; the apse was 3.40 m. in diameter. The walls, 0,58 m. thick, are brick-faced with accurately worked horizontal coursing and rather thick mortar beds, one course of brick and one of mortar having an average



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 98. S. Sebastiano. Memoria niche

[1] STYGER, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 35. The fragment, when last seen, was perched on a wall close to the niche.
[2] PRANDI, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 61; TOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 154 ff.

thickness of 6.5 cm.—a brick-layers' technique characteristic of the late third or early fourth century. The *selce* perimeter wall of the memoria passes below the distyle façade and serves as stylobate for the pair of columns (fig. 99). Two small semicircular niches interrupted the curve of the apse wall; there may also have been a third niche on the center line, where the structure of the apse is destroyed. A rectangular recess opened in each lateral wall of the cella. Many graves were found in the cella, along with *loculi* hacked in the walls; four sarcophagi were also found, one of them inserted in the east wall. We do not know if cella δ was originally built as a mausoleum or for some other purpose, but it evidently became a mausoleum before it was finally abandoned.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 99. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory perimeter, substructure showing fin walls and *loculi* shelves and (right) right hand corner pier and column base of cella δ

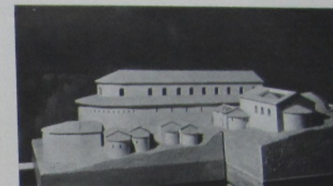
The entrance to the memoria enclosure was on the east side and consisted of a flight of steps 1.75 m. wide, bordered by parallel brick walls nearly at right angles to the east perimeter wall. It descended from the higher ground to the east and led to the southeast quarter of the courtyard (pl. VII; figs. 92, 94, 95). Four steps up from the bottom, the flight of stairs was broken by a landing and a doorway opening north into the eastern loggia, the *triclia*, which lies somewhat higher than the other parts of the enclosure. Considering that the terrain ascends from west to east, the steps leading down from the east into the memoria courtyard suggest that the *selce* wall on the east flank of the enclosure was the retaining wall of a terrace. Therefore the ground east of the *memoria apostolorum* lay at least at the level of the present church floor or perhaps even higher. Subsequent developments, such as the leveling of the land for the construction of the basilica, the excavation of the Crypt of S. Sebastian below the southeast quarter of the nave, and the building of stairs descending to the crypt, have destroyed everything that formerly stood in the east part of the site. On the other hand, the steep descent of the hillside toward the west and south has resulted in the preservation of the buildings, including the memoria apostolorum, which existed below the west part of the basilica.

2. The basilica

The basilica was erected above the buildings described in the preceding section, engulfing them in its foundations and, in course of time, obliterating them completely. Its U-shaped plan was composed of the following elements: the nave, corresponding to the present church nave; the south aisle, on the site now occupied by the *biglietteria* and souvenir shop at the entrance to the catacombs, continuing also into the zone of the present sacristy and beyond it; an ambulatory, used at present as a museum; the north aisle, corresponding to the Albani chapel and the northeast lapidarium; finally, an east aisle, part of the area now occupied by the narthex (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 100 *a*, *b*; 127).

The aisles are separated from the nave by rows of masonry piers which sweep around at the

west end in an uninterrupted curve, approximately concentric with the perimeter wall. To be precise, the curve marked by the ambulatory piers is approximately elliptical, while the curvature of the perimeter wall is the arc of a circle slightly greater in diameter than the breadth of the whole building (pl. VII).



(Photo: G. Parisi)

Fig. 100 *a*. S. Sebastiano. Model of basilica, exterior from south

The overall width of the basilica is 30.5 m., while its total length exceeds 65 m. Aisles and ambulatory vary in breadth from 5.5 to 7.5 m. Their narrowest point is in the ambulatory, along the center line of the building.



(Photo: G. Parisi)

Fig. 100 *b*. S. Sebastiano. Model of basilica, interior, facing south

The floor level of the church is a little below the natural surface of the ground at the east end, but the inclination of the hillside causes it to be 10 m. above ground level at the west end (pl. VIII). Consequently the west part of the building is raised on high foundation walls which enclose and conserve the remains of the antecedent buildings lying within their circuit. The breadth of the basilica extends from the south end of the memoria enclosure to a little beyond the north border of the street of tombs. In its length, the apex of the western curve almost coincides with the west wall of the villa, while the east end of the basilica lies far to the east of the memoria enclosure with the east boundary of the enclosure crossing the nave about half way along its length. The foundations of the nave piers on the north side of the basilica coincide with the lane between the parallel rows of antecedent mausolea. The foundations of the left nave piers pass across the middle of the memoria enclosure. They partly intersect the stairs to the spring chamber, but not to the extent that the stairs could not be used. In fact, a special passage was built so that the stairs to the spring continued to be accessible from outside the basilica [1]. The curved foundation wall of the western arc of piers intersects and completely disrupts the plan of the villa, but again, provision was made so that the well could also still be reached from the level of the villa courtyard (pl. VII; fig. 97).

[1] See below, p. 127

a) The perimeter walls: substructures

The tall substructures of the perimeter walls in the southwest part of the basilica are seen inside below the west half of the south aisle and throughout the curved ambulatory. They are visible today because the earth fill, upon which aisle and ambulatory floors formerly rested, was removed in the excavations of 1915 to 1931, revealing the south part of the memoria enclosure and the remains of the adjacent villa (figs. 97, 99, 101). In reconstructing the floor, the excavators supported it on beams, so that the area below remains open for study. The east half of the south perimeter wall is not yet excavated; it is buried beneath the adjacent monastery buildings, but the early fabric emerges into view below floor level, immediately west of the campanile, about 40 m. from the east façade and 20 m. from the beginning of the western curve (fig. 102). At this point the perimeter foundations rest on natural tufa at a depth of 5.20 m. below the nave floor. In the ambulatory as well as in the south perimeter wall, for a height of 1.50 m., that is up to 3.70 m. below floor level, the structure is built of squared tufa blocks of medium size, with occasional brick courses. Here the wall has a thickness of about 0.90 m.; but above, its thickness diminishes to 0.60 m., and it is built in *opus listatum* with a regular alternation of brick and *tufelli* courses (figs. 101, 102). The modulus of one course of each material plus two mortar beds averages 0.155 m. At intervals varying from 1.80 m. to 2.30 m., the interior face of the foundation wall is strengthened by projecting fins of masonry about 0.85 m. long and 0.44 m. thick. They are identical in construction with, and generally, bonded to, the perimeter wall. Thus the internal face of the foundation wall is formed into a series of embrasures intended for burial; indeed, they are subdivided horizontally into shelves or *loculi*, defined by slightly projecting brick courses (pls. VII, VIII; figs. 101, 102, 103). When excavated, many of the *loculi* were found intact, including their light front closure walls of rubble and mortar (fig. 103, right edge, background); they have been preserved, supported on wood beams (figs. 97, right edge; 99). It is important to note that these *loculi* in the perimeter wall exist at a considerable depth below the level of the present nave pavement, the deepest being 2.60 m. below floor level.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 101. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory wall substructure with fin walls and (foreground) remains of villa

Five meters west of the place where the south perimeter foundation wall emerges from the later foundations which conceal it in the east part of the church, it overlaps the oblique south boundary wall of the memoria enclosure. The junction of the two walls is masked by one of the *loculus* fin walls. (It is the third from the left in fig. 99; see also pl. VIII). The summit of the bottom zone of the foundation wall, 3.70 m. below the present floor level, coincides with the threshold of cella δ^1.

[1] Figure 99 shows, to the left, the tufa foundation of the perimeter wall and, to the right, the *[illegible] opus incertum* of the memoria wall, as the fin wall standing between the two. See also above, p. 117.

To the west, in the area of the former villa, the footings of the curved west perimeter wall are seen at the level of the villa courtyard (fig. 101). For a height of 2.20 m. above the Roman mosaic pavement the perimeter wall foundations are of rough unfaced concrete. Above this footing the foundation wall, 0.60 m. thick, is built in the same *opus listatum* noted above. However, the fin wall embrasures in this sector were not part of the original design of the basilica, but were added as an afterthought when the foundations had already reached a certain height. The wrought *listatum* of the fin begins only 2.60 m. below the present nave floor (fig. 101, near top); the part of the fin which rises between the trench-cast footing and the base of the *listatum* is rudely, but strongly built with large pieces of rubble. The lowest tier of *loculi* corresponds with the top of the rubble, and it is obvious from this that there must have been a stage in the development of this part of the basilica when the floor lay only a foot or two above the top of the rubble zone of the fins, that is about 3 m. below present floor level; otherwise the lower *loculi* could not have been used. Along the inner face of the west perimeter foundations, following the curve of the ambulatory, the series of vertical fins with shelf-like *loculi* continues as described until the original structure disappears from view, engulfed in the eighteenth century foundations of the sacristy belonging to the Albani chapel.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 102. S. Sebastiano. Substructure of south wall of basilica, with fin walls and remains of *loculi* slabs and (right hand) substructure of south arcade of nave, looking west, during excavations, 1923-1932



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 103. S. Sebastiano. Area below south aisle corresponding to piers 12, 11 and 10 (left hand), with south aisle wall (right hand) and (middle ground) vaulted passage to well stairs, looking east

East of the concrete foundations of the west wall of this sacristy, the original foundation of the perimeter wall is masked by the remains of a small obliquely-set rectangular tomb chamber (pl. VII). To judge by its brickwork, it is of Early Christian date. As elsewhere, the original floor

level of this part of the ambulatory is 2.20 m. below the present one, as demonstrated by the altitude of the lowest *loculus* in the adjacent FIN-ARCOSOLIUM. On the other hand, since its walls are brick-faced on the inside only, the rectangular tomb must have been built below floor level. It therefore indicates the level of the basilica pavement at a second stage of evolution, when the level corresponded approximately with the present one. East of the rectangular tomb, a stairway descends north into the catacomb; probably it existed before the basilica was built[1]. Beyond this, the west half of the north perimeter wall has been completely obliterated by the Albani chapel.

b) The perimeter walls: superstructure

1. *The ambulatory wall*

Above the level of the modern ambulatory floor (now supported over the excavated area on its reinforced concrete bridge), the curved west perimeter wall stands nearly 5 m. at its highest point, which seems to be not far short of the original elevation. The fins continued above floor level; their existence is attested by scars on the wall face, which shows roughly hacked concrete where the fin masonry, originally bonded to the perimeter wall, has been cut away (fig. 104). At a level of 1.65 m. above the modern floor, the scars show that the sides of the fins curved over to form arches which spanned the embrasure, like *arcosolia*. The apex of the arcades was 2.50 m. above the present floor, and therefore about five meters above the lowest zone of *loculi*. The masonry must have been about 1.5 m. thick in the spandrels above the *arcosolia*, since it combined the thickness of the perimeter wall and the 85 cm. fins; but, 0.60 m. above the apex of the *arcosolia*, the wall is set back to its normal thickness, thus creating a continuous horizontal shelf, 0.85 m. wide, above the arcade of the *arcosolia*. Rather than by the present windows, the perimeter wall above this shelf was pierced by small rectangular window slits, 0.15 m. wide and 0.70 m. high, with internally splayed embrasures; only two such openings survive, 1.90 m. apart (figs. 91, left) However we presume that there was originally a row of such openings, spaced at six foot intervals and providing the principal illumination of the ambulatory.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 104. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory, showing scars of fin walls with curved tops

Less than a meter from the point where it must originally have merged into the rectilinear north wall of the aisle, the curved perimeter wall is engulfed, both above and below floor level, in the eighteenth century masonry of the Albani sacristy.

[1] See above, p. 114.

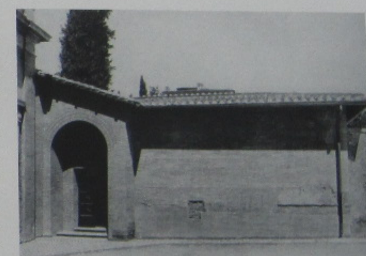
2. *The north wall*

The east half of the north wall was excavated in 1932 and its remains are now incorporated into the structure of a modern lapidarium, which stands to the right of the nave in place of the original north aisle. The base of the perimeter wall rests on rock a few centimeters below floor level, while the foundations at the southwest corner of the basilica are more than 10 m. deeper, on account of the sloping terrain mentioned above. As in the south aisle and western ambulatory, the interior face of the north wall is divided by fins into a series of embrasures for *loculi*. In its east half, parts of three survive above floor level, and traces of many others were noted in the footings of the west half at the time of excavation[1]. At the northeast corner of the basilica the original *opus listatum*, although repaired and rebuilt, stands to a height of nearly 2.20 m. (fig. 105). The re-entrant angle of the building forms a square corner pier, which corresponds with the fins and terminates the series of *loculus* embrasures. The curve of the intrados of this last *arcosolium* was found in 1915 to start at a height of 1.70 m. above the present floor. East of the pier, the *listatum* face of the east perimeter wall rose vertically with no sign of an *arcosolium*. Thus it appears that the east wall of the basilica was not provided with *loculi*. A doorway in this east wall leads to a rectilinear, brick mausoleum, accomodating five sarcophagi (pl. VII, no. 53; figs. 105, 106), an addition to the east end of the north aisle. On the other hand, a small apsed mausoleum, its axis diverging slightly from that of the basilica, projects north at the northeast corner of the ba-



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 105. S. Sebastiano. North lapidarium from Mausoleum of the Five Sarcophagi, facing west, showing fin walls (right) and entrance to Mausoleum



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 106. S. Sebastiano. Forecourt, pier of basilica façade (center) and (right) south wall of Mausoleum of the Five Sarcophagi

[1] They are recorded on Fornari's survey (*op. cit.*, 1932, plan 2).

silica and is older than the basilica itself (pl. VII, no. 53). Indeed, the oblique foundations of the south wall of this mausoleum lie beneath the masonry of the basilica wall; its south wall was probably pulled down when the construction of the basilica wall rendered it superfluous. Since the west wall of the mausoleum continues south far enough to join the basilica wall, it seems that there must originally have been some kind of embrasure in the southwest corner, probably the entrance doorway.

3. *The east wall*

The alignment of the east perimeter wall of the basilica is indicated by the doorway of the rectilinear mausoleum of the five sarcophagi, whose threshold is *in situ*, and by a fragment of *listatum* masonry, built into the modern wall of the north lapidarium, which protrudes into the northwest corner of the forecourt (pl. VII; fig. 106). This projecting wall makes an angle of 86° with the north perimeter wall. The exterior northeast corner of the basilica can be seen from the north aisle (fig. 122) as well as from the rectilinear mausoleum, where the later masonry is broken away. 2.05 m. south of this corner, the *opus listatum* of the east wall ceases in a vertical jamb. The brick door post of the mausoleum was subsequently built against this jamb, and it is thus clear that the entrance to the mausoleum was set into a wider opening of earlier date (fig. 105). The other jamb of this original opening in the basilica wall is represented by three or four courses of *listatum* masonry built into the modern brickwork at the southeast corner of the north lapidarium. These show that the width of the original opening was 3.55 m. Further south, a second opening in the east wall of the basilica is indicated by the worked south face at the other end of the same fragment of *listatum* masonry, now visible in the forecourt (fig. 106). On the basis of these two known openings, one of which is 3.55 m. wide, of the intervening pier measuring 1.65 m. from north to south, and the known total breadth of the basilica, it is fairly safe to deduce that the east wall of the basilica was pierced by a row of five openings, presumably spanned by arches. The foundations of the middle part of this arcade must cross the forecourt about 3 m. in front of the Baroque narthex, but they have not yet been uncovered. However, near the southeast corner of the basilica, a record of foundations in an appropriate position appears on Fornari's plan[1] (see our pl. VII). At this point the east perimeter wall constituted the façade of another contiguous mausoleum; part of its apsed east wall is still discernible above ground level, embedded in the south wall of the forecourt. Apparently Fornari excavated the south half of the apse and the south wall of the mausoleum in the garden south of the forecourt, but these features are no longer visible. The southernmost of the five east façade arches must have been walled up before this mausoleum was built, as its position does not correspond with the presumed south opening. Fornari also shows a short tract of masonry standing in the line of the south perimeter wall just where the corner of the original basilica must have been; it is probably related to certain reinforcements inserted at an unspecified period in the rock-hewn catacomb galleries which lie beneath.

4. *The south wall*

The alignment of the south perimeter wall is established along its entire length by its foundation wall (figs. 102, 103). But above ground only two elements survive: the small tract of masonry at its east end, identified by Fornari but no longer visible, and a stretch of wall, just east of the transverse center line of the church, below which the triple arcade of the large apsed mausoleum (no. 43) was later inserted (fig. 122).

[1] FORNARI, *op. cit.*, 1932, plans I and II.

c) NAVE ARCADES AND CLERESTOREY WALLS

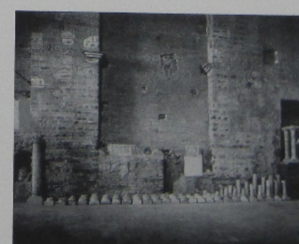
1. *The south side of the nave*

The south side of the nave clearly shows the arcading and the clerestorey windows. In the east part of the church the arcades have not been exposed, but the outlines of four clerestorey windows are visible externally (pl. VIII). In the west half, on the other hand, the south arcade has been fully exposed in the wall of the south lapidarium (pl. VIII; fig. 107). In one of the later remodelings of the nave interior, certainly before the seventeenth century, the original

Fig. 107. S. Sebastiano. South aisle (lapidarium), facing east, showing (to the left) arcades of nave and ambulatory

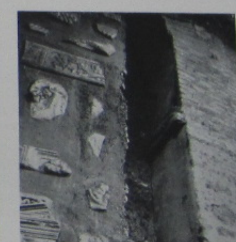


(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 108. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory arcade, piers and springings of arch



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 109. S. Sebastiano. Cornice of ambulatory pier, showing stucco covering



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 110. S. Sebastiano. Piers of nave arcade and substructure, below ambulatory, showing stylobates and (upper left) marble sarcophagus

arcades were blocked[1] and new embrasures and openings were made with complete disregard of the former plan, so that several of the piers have been partly cut away. In spite of this it is possible to determine that the original arcading of the straight part of the south nave wall rested on rectangular piers of *opus listatum* with the same characteristics as noted in the east wall. Of the piers, the first five, counting from the east, are entirely hidden and their location has to be inferred from the spacing of the clerestorey windows (pls. VII and VIII; fig. 127). The sixth pier is identifiable below floor level, where it is seen beside the modern entrance to the *triclia* loggia of the memoria. The seventh, cut in half by a Baroque nave embrasure, is represented by its southeast corner, which appears in the north wall of the campanile staircase. Piers 8, 9 and 10 are seen in the wall of the south lapidarium (figs. 102, right edge; 103, left edge; 107). West of the tenth pier the character of the arcading changes, as will be described below.

The piers measure 1.53 m. by 0.89 m. in plan, and are spaced at intervals which seem to vary between 3.30 m. and 3.60 m. The spacing of the piers and arcades which remain visible from the plane of the inner east façade of the nave to the seventeenth century chancel pier, an overall distance of 47.70 m., suggests the stretch originally had nine arches and ten piers, including the southeast corner pier. The arches which spring from the piers have fully semicircular archivolts of radially set bipedals which rise to an intrados apex 5.70 m. above the present nave floor level (pl. VIII; figs. 108, 109). The lowest voussoir bricks lie 4 m. above floor level. But the springing seems lower than it really is because, 3.30 m. above the floor, three projecting courses of brickwork have been inserted, forming cornices 0.70 m. below the true springing of the arches, which thus appear stilted.

It is important to note that the bases of piers 6 through 10 do not correspond with the present floor level. Below the surface of the floor, in the excavated area beneath the south lapidarium, the vertical sides of each pier continue down 2.02 m. more before coming to the top of the stylobate wall on which they rest (pl. VIII; figs. 102, right edge; 103, left edge). This level corresponds approximately with the pavement of the *triclia* of the antecedent memoria enclosure. In its upper part the *opus listatum* stylobate has the same thickness as the nave piers, ca. 0.90 m. Its surface is defined by a course of bipedals which passes through the base of each pier. Below the present floor level the openings between the original piers are blocked up with later construction; the lower strata of these appear to be burial *loculi* and tombs. Conspicuous among them is a rectangular white marble sarcophagus in the interval between piers 10 and 11 (figs. 103, left hand; 110). At a depth of 0.85 m. beneath the bipedal surface of the stylobate, the foundation wall becomes thicker. Its

[1] Pacini, *op. cit.*, p. 7, quoting Fasiolo, *op. cit.*, p. 206 ff., esp. p. 219 f. Fasiolo attributes the blocking to Hadrian I, but Pacini correctly assigns it to Honorius III, since his cloister is on the area of the left aisle.

north face is concealed by later foundations, built to underpin the Baroque lining of the nave. But the south face shows a set back of 0.15 m.; and a little below this level, the *opus listatum* masonry disappears behind the structure of a concrete tunnel, built to give continued access to the stairway in the memoria complex which led to the spring below and southwest of the memoria enclosure[1].

Indeed, in order to make the floor of the basilica level, the low-lying ground enclosed by the south and west perimeter wall foundations had to be filled in with earth, burying the remains of the villa and memoria enclosure. But before this was done, the wellhead in the villa courtyard was protected by a vaulted construction from which a curved passage (pl. VII; fig. 97) led horizontally to an opening in the perimeter foundations. Thus the well remained accessible from the outside through the passage, although it was buried several meters below the basilica floor. Because of subsequent terracing of the land south of the church, the doorway to the passage is far below the present surface of the ground, but we presume that originally the fall of the land left the passage doorway but little, if at all, below ground level. The well was not only accessible from outside the basilica through this lateral tunnel; the well shaft was extended vertically up to the level of the church floor, so that the spring could be reached from inside the church as well. It is not clear if the vertical extension is contemporaneous with the horizontal tunnel, or if it is later. The rock-hewn stairway leading from the memoria courtyard down to the spring was similarly provided with a passage through which it could be approached from outside the basilica wall after the memoria had been buried below the floor. The summit of the flight of steps, partly restricted by the encroachment of the nave arcade foundation wall, was enclosed in a barrelvaulted chamber (fig. 103) from which a vaulted passage 1.05 m. wide and 2.20 m. high led diagonally below the zone of the aisle and debouched through a doorway in the perimeter foundation wall a few meters to the west of cella δ. At its highest point the extrados of the vault lies about 0.50 m. below the level of the nave arcade stylobate.

2. *The ambulatory*

The tenth pier, although one entire bay east of the ambulatory curve, nevertheless marks the end of the ordinary arcade of the nave and the beginning of the taller and narrower arcade peculiar to the ambulatory and to the last of the nave. While the ordinary nave piers are spaced at least 3.30 m. apart, the rectilinear interval between piers 10 and 11, and the curved intervals between the ambulatory piers, 12 through 16, are considerably narrower, only 2.60 to 2.70 m. Moreover, the ordinary nave arches rise to an apex 5.70 m. above the present floor, while the apex of the ambulatory arches and of arch 10-11 is 0.35 m. higher. However, the cornices of the piers remain at the same level as before, and the extra height of the archivolts is achieved by higher stilting between the cornices and the true springing (pls. VII; VIII, longitudinal section).

The foundation wall on which the ambulatory piers stand is exposed in the villa excavations (fig. 101). At the level of the courtyard pavement, where the mosaics probably rest on rock, the base of the U-shaped wall is formed with two or three courses of big lumps of tufa set in concrete. This part of the foundation wall is 1.30 m. thick and rises 0.55 m. above the villa pavement. Above, the wall is reduced in thickness to 0.90 m. and is constructed in slightly smaller pieces of tufa until it attains a height of 3.35 m. above the villa level. From this level to the pavement of the basilica, 2.50 m. up, it is built in *opus listatum*. The 15 cm. offset in the stylobate wall noted below piers 9 and 10 fades away in the region of pier 11, and west of this the wall face is more or less

[1] See above, p. 119.

vertical, except for the difference between the tufa lumps in the lower part of the foundation wall and the *listatum* masonry in the upper part.

As with the intervals between piers 6 through 10, the summit of the stylobate wall and the bases of piers 10, 11 and 12 lie 2.02 m. below present floor level. The white marble sarcophagus, noted above, fills the interval between the tenth and eleventh piers, while the next interval, between the eleventh and twelfth piers, contains a brick-built grave (figs. 103, left edge; 110). However, west and north of pier 12, throughout the ambulatory, the top of the curved stylobate wall corresponds with the level of the present church floor. Hence the original floor level seems to have been much the same as it is today in the western part of the ambulatory; but, for some reason as yet unexplained, the floor lay two meters lower in the area adjoining piers 6 through 11, extending as far as the east side of pier 12. The level of this sunken area of the original basilica layout thus corresponds with the brick pavement of the *triclia*. Thus, the *triclia* may have remained open and accessible for a certain period of time after the construction of the basilica.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 111. S. Sebastiano. Ambulatory, pier with painted decoration imitating marble

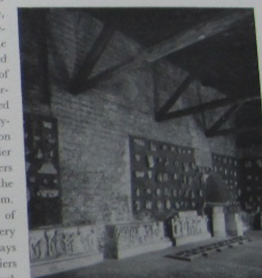
The piers of the ambulatory arcades are seen in the wall of the lapidarium (figs. 107, 108, 109). Of piers 12 and 13 only the extreme southeast and north west corners survive; the remainder was demolished when a rectangular chamber was inserted (fig. 89; it was in turn removed after 1915). Pier 14 stands on the center line of the basilica; the removal of some later masonry which formerly blocked the interval between piers 14 and 15 has revealed fragments of early revetment in which marble panels and discs are imitated in fresco (fig. 111). East of pier 16 the original masonry on both sides of the ambulatory and aisle disappears in the Baroque architecture of the Albani chapel and sacristy. Consequently, we have no knowledge of piers 17 and 18, but presumably they correspond on the north side of the basilica with piers 10 and 11 on the south side; presumably also, their arches rose to the same level as those in the rest of the ambulatory, 6.05 m. above the present floor level, 0.35 m. higher than the arcades of the nave.

The ambulatory zone was thus distinguished from the rectilinear part of the U-shaped basilica by its taller and narrower arcading. It also seems to have been defined by some kind of transverse feature which crossed the nave at piers 10 and 18, approximately where the Baroque chancel arch now stands. This feature has disappeared and is represented only by two balks of trench-case foundation concrete, composed mainly of lumps of *selce*, which pass down beside the structure of the antecedent villa. They are roughly square in plan, measuring about 1.80 m., and symmetrically disposed about 3.5 m. apart, on either side of the central axis of the church. About 1 m. below floor level the cast concrete is replaced by brickwork which seems more likely to be Baroque than antique. The balks look as though they may be foundations for two large columns, such as might have sustained a triple arched screen. Nevertheless, it is clear that this transverse element was not an original feature of the basilica. The foundation walls of the perimeter and of the ambulatory arcading were built up from rock level by masons working freely in the open or

only slightly hampered by the need to incorporate or evade the walls of the villa and adjacent mausolea; but the foundation balks were formed by casting concrete into two deep holes, excavated in the earth fill beneath which the villa and mausolea had long been buried. Hence the transverse feature must be regarded as an addition to the original plan of the U-shaped basilica[1].

3. *The north arcade*

Little is now visible of the row of piers which divided the nave from the north aisle. Piers 19 and 20 were removed when the Baroque entrance to the Albani chapel was built, but their lower courses of *opus listatum* are visible from the south, in the narrow road which divided the two rows of Roman tombs, in front of mausolea nos. 5, 6 and 7 (pl. VII; fig. 92). As in the south arcade, these piers continue down to a depth of 3 m. below the present floor level before reaching the supporting stylobate wall, built of large unworked blocks of rubble and terminating in a course of bipedals. Again like the south arcade, the intervals between the piers are filled with graves placed on top of the stylobate. At its base, the stylobate wall probably rests on rock, or possibly on the *selce* pavement of the street of tombs[2]. Pier 21 is nowhere visible, but the north faces of piers 22 and 23 are identifiable in the wall flanking the stairs at the west end of the north lapidarium. These lead down to join the ancient flight of rock-hewn steps whereby the catacomb gallery appears to have been entered even in the days when the street of mausolea stood *sub divo*[3]. Piers 24 and 25 have disappeared in the seventeenth century construction of an apsed side chapel. Finally, piers 26 and 27 (the northeast corner pier), built in the usual *opus listatum*, are preserved in the wall of the north lapidarium (fig. 112). Unfortunately the surface of the stylobate between piers 22 and 27 has not been seen, and its level is not known.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 112. S. Sebastiano. North aisle, facing west, showing (left edge) northeast corner pier of nave and arcades

These 27 masonry piers surrounding the nave in a U-shaped plan supported archivolts of radially-set bipedals. The intrados of the arches flanking the nave rose to an apex 5.70 m. above the present floor, those of the ambulatory to 6.05 m., those in the east wall to about 7.20 m.[4]. The spandrels of the nave archivolts, exposed in the south lapidarium (fig. 107), are built of *opus listatum*. They are in the same vertical plane as the archivolt for about three-quarters of the height of the extrados; above this level, in a zone 0.70 m. in height, the *listatum* wall face is hacked away, leaving the concrete core exposed. Above this zone the *listatum* wall face is resumed in a different plane, set back about 0.25 m. behind the face of the archivolts. Presumably the archivolts and

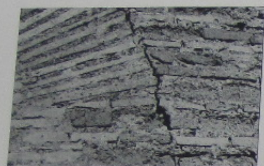
[1] See, however, Tolotti, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 227.

[2] It is difficult to check this point because the interval between the tomb façades and the lowest courses of the stylobate is nowhere more than 0.23 m.

[3] See above, p. 114.

[4] See above, pp. 126, 127; below, p. 132.

spandrels have the same thickness as the piers which support them (0.89 m.) and the zone of exposed concrete marks the level at which the wall thickness was reduced in order to lighten the weight of the clerestorey wall; originally there must have been a horizontal ledge 0.25 m. wide at the top of this zone. The reduction in the thickness of the wall probably occurs only on the aisle side of the arcade, since a set backwould be unsightly in the nave. Hence we may conclude that the clerestorey walls are about 0.65 m., or $2^1/_5$ R. ft., thick. The thickness cannot be measured directly because the whole interior of the clerestorey is masked by the Baroque decorations of the nave (pl. II, transverse section).



(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 113. S. Sebastiano. Clerestorey window, springing of arch

4. *The clerestorey windows*

The exterior of the upper part of the clerestorey wall can be closely examined by standing on the aisle roof. The masonry is the same *opus listatum* as noted in the lower parts of the basilica, with alternating courses of *tufelli* and brick; two courses of each material plus four courses of mortar have a height of 0.305 m. Pink, yellow and red bricks are indiscriminately mixed and the *tufelli* are both yellow and brown; hence it is likely all the material used was second hand (fig. 113). The walls of this masonry rise 12.60 m. above floor level and they may even be slightly higher, since at this height the ancient masonry disappears behind a Baroque cornice. In any case, the original *listatum* clerestorey walls survive almost to the eaves of the present roof (figs. 91, 114).



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)
Fig. 114. S. Sebastiano. North clerestorey as of 1923-1932, showing the three easternmost windows and (botton left) two arches of nave arcade

Although they are blocked up, many of the original clerestorey windows are identifiable. In the straightwalled part of the basilica one window corresponded with each arch of the nave arcading (fig. 114). On the other hand, in the ambulatory, where the arcades are taller and narrower, the windows are disposed above alternate arches, except for the two arches flanking the central pier on the long axis of the church; each of these was surmounted by a clerestorey window (fig. 91). Thus the west end of the basilica had a pair of clerestorey windows close together; these were flanked by windowless spaces in the diagonal sectors of the ambulatory curve; then there were windows above arches 11-12 and 16-17, no openings over arches 10-11 and 17-18 and, finally, a window over every arch from piers 10 and 18 to the east façade.

All the clerestorey windows open at about the same level, except for those of the east façade, which start somewhat higher. The height of the windows in the long side walls and curved end wall is at least 2.50 m.; it cannot be accurately measured because the window sills are hidden by the aisle roofs. The openings of the side walls vary in width from 1.63 to 1.77 m., while those of the western curve are slightly narrower, 1.48 m. and 1.55 m. The window arches are made with radially set bricks that are 0.52 m. long (fig. 113). The archivolts are not fully semicircular but are slightly depressed to give an elliptical outline; this is further emphasized at the springing, where the lowest arch brick is tilted up and supported by a wedge-shaped unit of the horizontal course, a peculiarity which we shall likewise note in the three windows of the east façade [1]. The vertical sides of the window openings continue directly into the curve of the intrados without the usual setback (fig. 114).

5. *The nave façade*

Whereas the outer east wall with its five presumed arches has almost disappeared, the corresponding inner nave wall still exists, sandwiched between the Baroque narthex and the nave. Standing at right angles to the north and south side walls, it is not parallel with the east perimeter wall. It was seen in 1956, when the plaster was stripped from the west side of the large chamber over the Baroque narthex (fig. 115). Built of *opus listatum* of the type noted throughout the basilica, the wall was pierced at clerestorey level by three large windows [2]. The middle window was 1.98 m. wide and 3.32 m. high; those on the sides were slightly smaller, 1.90 m. by 3.25 m. The springing of the window arches lies about 11.50 m. above the floor of the nave and is marked by a double course of brick in the *listatum* masonry. As throughout the church, the vertical line of the window jamb merges into the arch without the setback usually found in fourth and fifth century windows in Rome. Again as in the nave, the archivolts are slightly depressed to give an elliptical outline in place of the usual semicircle. This is a deliberate feature and not a mistake or a consequence of settling, because at the point where the lowest arch brick rests on the vertical jamb it is tilted up by means of a wedge-shaped unit in the horizontal coursing (fig. 115). The characteristic, which is recurrent in the clerestorey, is important for the dating of the church [3]. The three openings were obviously clerestorey windows opening into the nave above the east aisle, which was bordered by the outer and inner east walls. Consequently a roof must have leaned against the inner wall, below the sills of the three windows, but in 1956 the plaster was not stripped far enough to identify the beam holes. At some point, the windows were blocked: the south and middle windows with irregular masonry of brick and small tufa stones, leaving a narrow rectangular opening which was in turn blocked later, the one to the north with a regular masonry in which bands of three or four brick courses alternate with single tufa courses. Also, in this window a brick frame outlines what appears to have been a small oculus (figs. 115, 116; see also fig. 90).

Beneath the window zone and its lean-to roof, the lower story of the inner wall opened in an arcade flanked by angle piers at the northeast and southeast corners of the nave. The exterior arris of the north pier survives incorporated into the south wall of the north lapidarium; its south arris was revealed in 1956 by an opening cut into the rear wall of the Baroque narthex [4]. Thus it was found that the pier, built in *opus listatum* of the usual type, was 2.70 m. long. At a distance

[1] See below.
[2] MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 112 ff.
[3] See below, p. 145.
[4] MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 15.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 115. S. Sebastiano. Windows of east façade of nave above present narthex

of 9.82 m. from this north pier the northeast corner of the corresponding south angle pier was seen in 1956, as was the springing of the archivolt above (fig. 116). Its intrados begins to curve at a height of 5.80 m. above the nave floor and suggests a span of about 2.80 m. for the arch. The upper portions of this arch and of two other arches, one in the center, the other to the north, were seen in 1950 but could not be surveyed exactly[1]. However, the published photographs and the curve of the south arch, still visible at the springing, suggest that its apex would have reached a height of 7.20 m. and that the arcade would have resembled the high and narrow arcades of the ambulatory. A similar arch can safely be assumed to have sprung from the northeast angle pier, leaving a distance of 4.20 m. between the two arches. Indeed, the apex of the voussoir of the third arch still protrudes above the floor of the upper narthex chamber exactly in the center axis of the nave (fig. 115). The right and left arches were blocked at an early time in an *opus listatum*, somewhat poorer in quality but otherwise resembling the masonry used throughout the original structure; remnants of the blocking are still visible to the north, while the blocking to the south was observed in 1956[2].

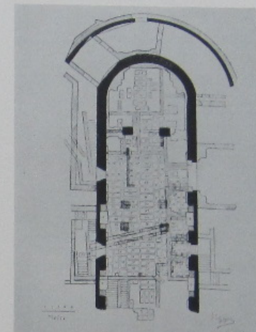


(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 116. S. Sebastiano. Anterior of narthex showing springing of southernmost arcade of nave façade

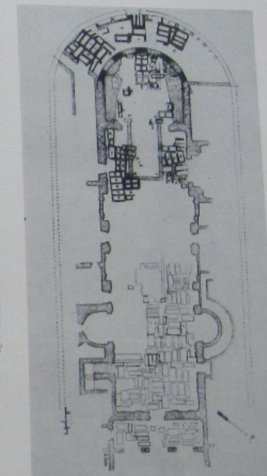
The evidence then suggests a reconstruction of the nave façade with three arches, supported between the angle piers by columns or piers only 0.70 m. thick. However, the arches were not all alike. Those to the north and south were semicircular with a span of 2.80 m., leaving a distance of 4.20 m. between the two. The center arch does not seem

[1] PACINI, *op. cit.*, p. 15 and figs. 8, 9, 10.
[2] MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 113 and 120, fig. 14.



(Styger, 1918, pl. I)

Fig. 117*a*. S. Sebastiano. Plan of tombs in west half of basilica, 1915; apparently schematized



(Mancini, 1924, pl. I)

Fig. 117*b*. S. Sebastiano. Plan of tombs, including ambulatory, east part of nave and narthex, 1921



(Photo: Deutsches Archäol. Inst., Rom)

Fig. 118. S. Sebastiano. Graves in nave during excavation

to have had the same diameter of 2.80 m.; indeed, the inclination of its voussoir bricks suggests an extrados about 5 m. wide and thus 1.30 m. wider than the extrados of the lateral arches (3.70 m.; that is, 2.80 m. plus twice the width of the voussoirs, 45 cm.). Hence the center arch may have been elliptical, as are many of the archivolts in the nave (South 6; pl. VIII, longitudinal section). On the other hand, the apparently wide span of the central arch remains difficult to reconcile with the reconstruction of a triple aperture, and only a broad pier, surmounted by a relieving arch, may originally have separated the two lateral arches[1].

[1] MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 113 and p. 121, fig. 15, suggests a reconstruction of the original façade with but two lateral arched openings separated by a pier, 4.20 m. wide; he views the third arch as a later insert which replaced the center pier after the lateral openings were closed.

d) The floor of the basilica

In the excavation campaign of 1915 and 1916 it was found that the entire floor of the nave from the entrance to the apex of the nave was tightly packed with graves, mostly *formae*, occasionally interspersed with sarcophagi [1] (figs. 117 *a*, *b*; 118). The subsequent campaigns until 1932 established a similar carpet of graves in the ambulatory, in the adjoining west bays of the south aisle, in the east half of the north aisle and in the area of the Baroque narthex [2]. More recently, an excavation below the present sacristy has revealed a similar paving with graves in the area of the south aisle corresponding to the fifth pier [3]. All these finds suggest that the entire basilica lacked a pavement in the proper sense of the term; rather, the floor was formed by the slabs with which the graves were covered. At the same time, the carpeting of graves gives a clue to the function of the structure. Many of the epitaphs of the tombs are dated and some were found still *in situ*; thus they supply *termini ante* and *ad quem* for the construction of the building [4]. These clues are supplemented by dated epitaphs found in the mausolea which were built at an early time against the perimeter walls of the basilica. Also, it must be recalled that the top layer of graves in the west half of the nave and in the ambulatory was preceded by several layers of burials placed between the spurs of the ambulatory and atop the stylobate wall from which rise the piers in that part of the nave.

Numerous other graves and mausolea were found north of the basilica and in the area which extends from its façade east to the Via Appia, that is, in the former forecourt or precinct court [5].

e) The Crypt of Saint Sebastian

Near the southeast corner of the nave a double flight of stairs broken by two landings descends into the Crypt of Saint Sebastian [6]. The crypt is a roughly rectangular room, 10.40 m. long and from 4.30 m. to 5 meters wide, with its axis running east and west (pl. VII), and its floor level roughly 4 m. below the nave. A deep rectangular niche projects from its south wall. At the crypt's far west and two flights of steps, one broad, the other narrow, descend from the nave; they end about 1 m. above the floor of the chamber, presumably at the level of its original floor (fig. 119). Since the present southeast stairs were already in use in the sixteenth century (and the older double flight consequently abandoned), the floor was presumably lowered in the Middle Ages [7]. On the other hand, when the steps of the double stairs were uncovered in 1915, they were composed of tomb slabs in second use [8]; hence they were certainly repaired at an early time, perhaps in the early Middle Ages. Also, of the two flights only one is likely to be original, but we do not know which. The walls of the chamber, built of irregular *opus listatum* and only partly hidden behind a seventeenth century system of wall piers and vaults, may antedate the building of the basilica, or they may be contemporaneous with it or even somewhat later. In any event, the chamber, while apparently remodeled in the Middle Ages, appears originally to have been a typical

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[1] Styger, 1918, p. 9 ff. and pl. 1 (our fig. 117 *a*); Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 14 ff. and pl. 1 (our fig. 117 *b*).

[2] Idem, p. 25 ff., 27 f. and pl. 1; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1939, p. 245. See also De Bruyne, "Sarcofago cristiano con nuovi temi iconografici...", *R. A. C.* 16 (1939), p. 247, for the exact site of one of these *formae* in the south aisle.

[3] Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, esp. p. 204 f. and fig. 1.

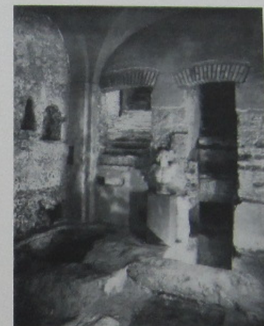
[4] See above, digs. 356-357 through 567; see also Styger, 1918, p. 26 ff.

[5] Fornari, *op. cit.*, 1932, esp. pls. 1 and 2; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1951, *passim*; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1952, *passim*; Tolotti, *op. cit.*, 1953, p. 233 f.

[6] Styger, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 6; see also Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43^v, as quoted above, p. 109, note 9.

[7] Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 43: "*Ultra scalam crypte est porta conversus...*"; see also di Rocchis (Ratti, *op. cit.*, 1920, p. 144): "*Caput scalae est prope ostium sacristiae inferioris*".

[8] Styger, 1918, p. 6 f.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 120. S. Sebastiano. Threshold with monogram facing Via Appia

Fig. 119. S. Sebastiano. Crypt of St. Sebastian, facing west, showing descending stairs



(Vat. lat. 10545, f. 183)

Fig. 121. S. Sebastiano. Ménéstrier, Plan of catacomb below and north of St. Sebastian

martyr's crypt [1], formed by widening a catacomb gallery in order to isolate a venerated grave and provide space for a small crowd near that martyrium. Indeed, the niche to the south appears to have sheltered the sarcophagus believed to be Saint Sebastian's, raised to its present location in 1609 to 1612 [2]. Throughout the Middle Ages a double altar rose in the chamber and two entrances, still visible, led into further galleries of the catacomb [3] (fig. 121).

3. The forecourt or precinct court

An important element of the building complex has come to light in the course of the recent campaigns. As early as 1931, the threshold of a large door was found, apparently *in situ*, on the edge of the Via Appia and thus about 30 m. east of the narthex. It extends in part below the modern wall which runs along the west border of the road, and its position corresponds exactly to the axis of the north aisle of the church. The threshold, exactly 2.95 m. (10 R. ft.) long and 0.62 m. wide, bears on its edge a monogram which allows for at least three readings: Constantinus, Constantius or Constans (fig. 120). In 1960 Ferrua was able to supplement this find with that of the corresponding door jambs, both inscribed with a vertical ☧ flanked by *A* and *Ω*. Thus the door must have been a large portal, leading from the Via Appia into what may have been either a forecourt; or a precinct court extending in front of the basilica and along its flanks, giving access to it as well as to some of the mausolea along its sides.

4. Annexed buildings

The neighborhood of S. Sebastiano was early occupied by numerous funeral monuments, and *cellae memoriae* also rose on the site where the basilica was later built [4]. Some such older mausolea outside have survived, especially in the area to the north [5]. Among those which stood inside the circuit of the new walls, many were obliterated and buried beneath the floor. Others, notably cella δ and tomb no. 53, which lay just outside the perimeter wall, were incorporated in the structure of the basilica and left to project from it as annexes. Scarcely was the perimeter wall complete when other *cellae memoriae* were added, especially along the south side (pl. VII). The first of these, cella 43, was entered through a large triple archway about halfway along the south side of the basilica. The remains of the triple arcade are still visible in the wall of the convent staircase, near the campanile (figs. 122, 123), and part of its apse has been brought to light some 17 m. to the south beneath the floor of a room in the convent. Cella 43 must have been short-lived. Its place was soon occupied by two smaller apsed buildings, nos. 44 and 45; from the style of their brickwork, these are certainly not much later than the middle of the fourth century (pl. VII; figs. 123, 124). The bricks are nearly new and are laid in accurate, horizontal coursing with eight courses in a height of 0.48 to 0.53 m. These two cellae are incorporated in the convent buildings, one as a storage chamber, the other as the parish chamber.

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[1] IDEM, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 139 ff.

[2] See above, dig. 1609-1612, quoting PANCIROLI, *Tesori Nascosti*, 1625, p. 664.

[3] KIRT, *op. cit.*, p. 303 ff. (cited above, p. 102); DI ROCCHIS (RATTI, *op. cit.*, 1920, p. 145): " ... *ubi iacet corpus Sancti Sebastiani sunt duo altaria quasi in una et eadem structura: videlicet altare parvum, quod respicit versus portam magnam in introitu ecclesiae, etiam ad exitum cemeterii Sancti Calixti ...; et altare maius quod respicit ad scalam descendentem de ecclesia...* "; *ibid.*, p. 144: " ... *dictum altare fuit dedicatum ... a Papa Honorio ... anno ... millesimo ducentesimo decimo octavo ...* ".

[4] See also above, p. 109 f., note 11.

[5] FORNARI, *op. cit.*, 1932, pls. 1 and 2; TOLOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 231 f.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 122. S. Sebastiano. Triple arcade of Mausoleum 43



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 123. S. Sebastiano. Entrance wall of mausoleum 44 (left) and of mausoleum 43 (right edge), showing westernmost column base of triple arcade of mausoleum 43 communicating with south aisle of basilica, during excavation



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 124. S. Sebastiano. Mausoleum 44, inner face of entrance wall, during excavation

East of cella 44 rises a large absidal chamber, no. 42, built of *opus listatum* (pl. VII). It was entered through a vestibule with niched ends (*a forcipe*); the façade of the vestibule stands some 7 m. from the south aisle of the basilica. From its location, it seems at first glance earlier than the church; however, this cannot be so, since mausoleum 42 was built against the flank of mausoleum 43 and thus must be later than it. Still further east and adjoining mausoleum 42, there is a round structure, no. 41, the so-called Mausoleum of the Uranii. It is partly rock-hewn and partly done in excellent brickwork of the same high quality as noted in the mausolea 44 and 45 (fig. 125). It is built against the east flank of no. 42 and thus must be later than that mausoleum. An epitaph found *in situ* inside the rotunda bears the date 349 and indeed, in its plan as well as in its relation to the basilica, cella 41 recalls strikingly the rotunda of S. Costanza adjoining the huge basilica of S. Agnese f. l. m. and of about the same date [1]. To the west, the space between mausoleum 45 and the antecedent cella δ was occupied by another absidal cella no. 46, built in the same high quality brickwork as noted elsewhere. West of cella δ there is a short interval and then two more

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[1] The basilica of S. Agnese was first identified by DEICHMANN, " Die Lage der Konstantinischen Basilica der Heiligen Agnes an der Via Nomentana, *R. A. C.*, 22 (1946), p. 213 ff. Excavations, begun in 1955 (PERROTTI, " Recenti ritrovamenti presso S. Costanza ", *Palladio*, n. s. 4 [1956], p. 80 ff.) have not yet been completed. Deichmann's identification supercedes the view I held thirty years ago (See above, Vol. I, p. 25 ff.).



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 125. S. Sebastiano. Rotunda (mausoleum 41), facing east



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 126. S. Sebastiano. Platonia, facing northeast, showing original triple entrance and niches of mausoleum and (left edge) outer wall of ambulatory

apsed cellae, nos. 48 and 49, standing more or less at right angles to the side of the basilica [1]. They are intact, even to their vaulted roofs, but the falling terrain brings them many meters below the basilica floor level, and so it seems probable that the surviving portions were originally substructures for cellae which stood above them at the level of the basilica but have perished. Still further west a trapezoid structure, cella 50, is attached to the curved perimeter wall of the ambulatory. It has a triple arched portico facing west, and it shelters a long flight of steps which ascend from what must have once been ground level up to the basilica floor. Whether cella 50 might at one time have been a postern entrance to the basilica is a question which must remain open for the time being. In any case the triple porch was very soon blocked up and turned into the east side of yet another absidal cella, no. 51: the "Platonia", which was erected in honor of the martyr Quirinus at the end of the fourth century (fig. 126).

Similarly, numerous mausolea existed north of the basilica. However, the mausolea to the south were attached to each other and to the flank of the main structure and hence later in date, while those to the north were scattered over a wide area, independent from each other and from the basilica and frequently antedating it. Two such earlier mausolea were incorporated into the north flank of the church, while a third, a *columbarium* of the first or second century A. D., was cut in half by the construction of the Albani chapel [2]. A far larger number of funerary structures rose at some distance from the basilica, from five to over thirty meters away

[1] Cella 49 contains the graffito "*domus Petri*" which led to the controversy between its discoverer, Colagrossi (*op. cit.*, 1912, 1919), Wilpert (*op. cit.*, 1912) and De Waal (*op. cit.*, 1912).

[2] See above, p. 121 f., and Fornari, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 355.

and as far north as the edge of Via delle Sette Chiese [1]. Built of reticulate, brick-faced concrete or *opus listatum*, they range in date from first century *columbaria* to large mausolea sheltering fourth century sarcophagi; and they vary in plan from rectangular chambers to apsed chapels, triconchs and rotundas [2]. Among the latter, at least one was provided with clerestorey windows and enveloped by niches enclosed in a lower ring, as indicated by Lafréry's engraving (fig. 90).

F. RECONSTRUCTION

1. The cemetery area

A reconstruction of the funerary area, both before and after the building of the memoria complex and the later basilica, is beyond the scope of our investigation. It will suffice to mention that the area below and north of the basilica was densely occupied by pagan burials as early as the first and second centuries; it continued in use by both pagans and Christians during the third and fourth centuries, and at the same time the area expanded south and east; it was designated *ad* or *in catacumbas*, "near the depression" (*i.e.* the dip in the Via Appia) since that time or before [3]; finally, its Christian occupation continued in the fifth and sixth centuries. This development is attested by the early *columbaria* to the north; by the three mausolea of the second century grouped about the *arenarium*; by the street of *columbaria* and tomb chambers below the area of the north aisle; by the Christian occupation of formerly pagan structures in the fourth century to the north of the basilica; by the Christian mausolea attached to its south flank, by the catacomb galleries extending below its floor as well as east and south; and finally by epitaphs dating from the fourth through the later sixth century, found inside the basilica and in the mausolea south and north [4].

2. The Memoria Apostolorum

The memoria complex formed part of this funerary area which by the third century, if not before, had included Christian occupants. It was a rectilinear enclosure, located on the terraced hillside, sixty-odd meters from the Via Appia (figs. 94, 95). A stairway led down to it from a higher terrace; roughly at the level of the present church floor, which extended in the direction of the Via Appia. The stairway terminated below in the southeast corner of an open courtyard, more or less leveled by terracing and paved. In the northwest corner of the court there was a small niched monument, its niche facing south and flanked by small brick columns, stuccoed and painted to resemble marble. Adjacent to the southwest corner and extending outside the area of the court, there stood an apsed exedra (cella δ), its distyle façade coinciding with the perimeter wall of the enclosure. Near the middle of the court a flight of steps descended into the earth, leading to a spring of water in a rock-hewn chamber. The memoria enclosure was bounded to the north by the rear walls of mausolea in the street of tombs. To the west a boundary wall separated the courtyard from the area

[1] Fasiolo, *op. cit.*, 1915, p. 266 and plan.

[2] Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 13 ff.

[3] See above, digs. 251-53, 258, and 354; and Testini, *Archeologia Cristiana*, Rome, 1958, p. 92.

[4] See above, digs, 345 through 567; see also Fornari, *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 355 ff.; Fasiolo, *op. cit.*, p. 206 ff.; and Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1952, p. 13 ff.

of the Roman villa, which stood on a much lower level. To the north and east of the court stood two roofed loggias. The northern one is poorly preserved. The east loggia rose one step higher than the courtyard and was accessible from the descending stairway through a narrow door. Its front had two piers, while its rear and side walls were covered with garden frescoes, the former defaced by hundreds of graffiti invoking the Princes of the Apostles.

3. The basilica

In most respects the original form of the basilica and the layout of its surroundings can be established without much doubt. A courtyard extended from the Via Appia toward the façade of the basilica (fig. 90). It must have been closed along the road by a wall, as indicated by the find of a threshold and the pertinent jambs of a gate (fig. 120)[1]. The position of this gate, oppo-

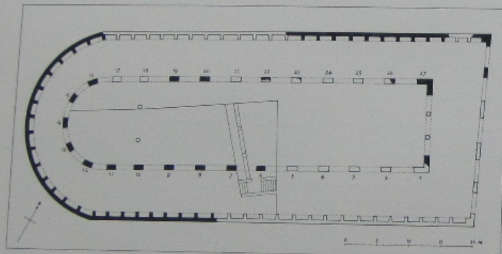


Fig. 127. S. Sebastiano. Plan of basilica, reconstruction (Drawing: Corbett)

site the north aisle rather than on the center axis of the church, suggests that originally there were three doors, and the one found was to the right. But the courtyard may well have been much wider than the basilica, since it must also have given access to the mausolea to the north and south. Hence the excavated gate may have stood on the center axis of the courtyard rather than of the basilica, and there may have been no others. Certainly the courtyard was not enveloped by porticoes[2]. Remains of mausolea have been found scattered over the entire area, particularly in front of the basilica façade, where such porticoes, had they existed, would have stood.

The basilica consisted of a U-shaped nave and of an enveloping zone of aisles, continued in an unbroken sweep by an ambulatory at the west end (figs. 100, 127). The nave was 58.30 m. long and 13.50 m. wide internally, that is, roughly 200 by 45 R. ft.; the aisles and ambulatory were each about 7 meters wide, not quite 24 R. ft. The total inner length amounted to 73.40 m., approximately 250 R. ft. The nave communicated with the aisles by a continuous series of arcades,

[1] See above, p. 136.
[2] This was suggested by Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 227.

north, east and south, continued to the west by the unbroken curve of the ambulatory arcades. Their arches, semicircular along the nave but stilted in the taller and narrower arcades of both ambulatory and east aisle, rested on rectangular piers, all of the same width and terminated by simple brick cornices. Only the arcade towards the east aisle differed, being composed either of two arches carried by a wide center pier or of three arches supported by two very slender piers or by a pair of columns[1]. Like the arcades, the clerestorey zone enveloped the nave on all sides. It contained one window above each of the nine arcades on each side of the nave, while in the curved ambulatory, windows and blind spaces alternated above the eight arcades. The short east aisle opened to the outside in five arches, while three windows pierced the nave wall above the roof of the aisle.

The basilica was crowded in on all sides by mausolea (pl. VII; fig. 90). Two were attached to the east wall, one at either end. At least six were built against the south flank, while two more, nos. 41 and 42, were separated from it by a narrow corridor. All these mausolea (except cella δ on a much lower level) were later than the basilica, if only, as with mausoleum no. 43, by a few years. On the other hand, a large area north of the basilica was occupied by scattered mausolea; some of these antedated the basilica, and two of them, nos. 51 and 53, were incorporated into the new construction.

The funerary character of the basilica itself is well established. Indeed, it was nothing but a covered graveyard, a *coemeterium subteglatum*, intended for burial and funerary banquets and focused on the memoria where the Princes of the Apostles had been commemorated as early as 258 A. D., if not before. Its entire inside perimeter wall, except for the east aisle, was lined with tiers of burial *loculi* arranged in *arcosolium*-like embrasures; there were three tiers above and up to five tiers below the present floor level. Thus in both the ambulatory and the west portion of the south aisle, the lowest *loculi* in these embrasures lie 2.60 m. below the present floor, only slightly higher than the level of the memorial courtyard and corresponding exactly to the top of the stylobate from which the nave arcades of the basilica spring; the bottom *loculus* would have been a trench 0.55 m. deep at the base of the *arcosolium*. Hence, there must have been a stage in the history of the basilica when at least part of its floor was considerably lower than it is today; otherwise neither the *loculi* below present floor level nor the sarcophagi and *formae* placed atop the nave stylobate would have been accessible. Also it must be recalled that the only ancient floor found in the basilica, both in its east and its west portions, lay only 0.27 m. below the modern nave level and consisted entirely of the cover slabs of the tightly packed graves directly below the present floor[2]. In the east part of the basilica and in the portico these graves formed a single layer, while in the west part of the nave and in the ambulatory they were stacked in several tiers[3]. Many of the tomb slabs in the top layer were dated; the earliest *in situ*, of 345, was found in the east part of the south aisle below the present sacristy while another one, of 357, lay in the west part of the nave above the area of the memoria courtyard[4]. Numerous others turned up in fragments scattered throughout the nave and aisles[5]. Within the context of its funerary function it also becomes understandable that throughout the centuries the catacomb galleries below its floor and to the north remained accessible from the basilica by means of the Crypt of St. Sebastian[6].

In considering the original aspect and floor level of the basilica and its subsequent changes, a

[1] See above, p. 132 f.
[2] Styger, 1918, p. 5 ff.; Mancini, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 14.
[3] Styger, 1918, p. 9.
[4] See above, digs. 345, 357.
[5] See above, digs. 341 through 567.
[6] See above, p. 136 and fig. 121.

number of factors must therefore be reconciled: *a)* the memoria complex, which antedates the basilica and lies about 3 meters below the present nave level, was bounded to the west by a terrace that was far higher than the memoria, though not much, if at all, below the present nave level; *b)* in the basilica, the *loculi* and the stylobate indicate that the areas of the ambulatory and the west half of the nave and aisles were at a level about 2 m. below the present pavement: *c)* the remains of the memoria complex and of the adjacent mausolea were left standing nearly to present nave level and thus to a height far above the *loculi* and stylobates in that part of the basilica; *d)* a pavement of tomb slabs at the present level existed in the east part of the basilica since at least 345, in the west part since at least 357. To explain these seemingly irreconcilable factors we have to assume that the basilica was built expressly as a burial site and originally had no common level and obviously no pavement. It consisted only of walls and arcades, with roofs covering the area of the memoria complex, the adjoining valley to the west and the higher terrace toward the Via Appia to the east. Within this area the ambulatory and the west portions of the nave and aisles occupied a level corresponding to the lowest tier of *loculi* and to the stylobate of the nave arcades. On this level, the remains of the *triclia* were left standing over two meters high, while the memoria courtyard may have been filled in level with the stylobate. On the other hand in the east portions of the nave and aisles, presumably from the outset, the level corresponded closely to the present one, which in turn is roughly that of the old terrace east of the memoria complex. One would like to think that the two levels in the nave were linked by stairs, but it remains unclear how this connection was established. True, the flight of stairs which descended from the terrace to the *triclia* from the very beginning may have remained accessible after the basilica had been built. However, this stairway was situated in the area of the south aisle and was cut off from the nave by the foundation wall of the nave arcade. Hence, it would have led to the lower level in the zone of the aisle and ambulatory, but the part of the memoria complex in the nave would have remained inaccessible. The memoria complex and the enveloping ambulatory would thus have formed a kind of open confessio at the west end of the structure, cut in two by the dividing foundation wall of the arcades, and the veneration of the memoria niche may well have continued for some time within the two-level covered graveyard.

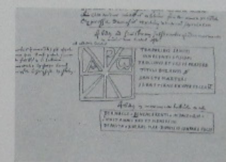
When the tomb of the boy Panigyrius and a number of other graves in its close vicinity were placed on the present level, high above the memoria complex but within its area [1], burials within the low-lying portions of the graveyard had apparently risen four and five layers. Hence, the top layer in the west part of the structure became level with the single layer of graves in the higher east part. Thus the era of a two-leveled basilica gave way to the one-level stage, which apparently lasted into the Middle Ages. On the level of the present nave, one layer of graves formed a continuous carpet extending from the narthex to the apex of the ambulatory. This stage was obviously reached by 357, the year of Panigyrius' death. Since the small grave of the boy was apparently squeezed in between pre-existing graves, it is reasonable to assume that the lower portions of the graveyard had been filled in even earlier, perhaps between 340 and 350.

In all likelihood the Crypt of Saint Sebastian below the southeast sector of the nave already existed and was accessible when the basilica was first laid out (figs. 119, 120). Presumably it was a *martyrium* chamber from the outset and sheltered the grave of Saint Sebastian. As was customary, it was probably enlarged from a gallery of the catacomb which extends below the east part of the nave and forecourt and branches out below the graveyard to the north. At the same time, the chamber might have served, as it did throughout the Middle Ages and still does, as an entrance to

[1] See above, dig. 357.

the catacomb [1]. As early as the beginning of the fifth century parapets were set up inside the chamber, including that donated by the presbyters Proclinus and Ursus [2] (figs. 128, 129). The parapets probably enclosed the tomb and perhaps an altar surmounting it, like the one which existed in the *martyrium* chamber of Saint Lawrence [3].

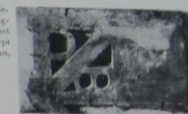
On the center axis of the nave, just east of the rear wall of the *triclia* and north of the steps descending into the crypt of Saint Sebastian, a block of three sarcophagi was inserted at a later



(Vat. lat. 10545, f. 44?)

Fig. 128. S. Sebastiano. Ménéstrier, Parapet slab and dedication from crypt of St. Sebastian, 401-417

Fig. 129. S. Sebastiano. Fragment of parapet slab from Crypt of St. Sebastian, 401-417



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

time among the original graves (fig. 117*a*, nos. 5, 6, 7). While the majority of graves run north and south, the three sarcophagi face due west and the middle one is marked in Carolingian lettering "*Pavianus*" [4]. It is above these sarcophagi that the altar of Saint Fabian rose until the time of Panvinio [5]. Obviously this altar as it appeared in the sixteenth century cannot have antedated the three sarcophagi. It may well have been a medieval construction. However, it might have taken the place of an earlier altar, not dedicated to St. Fabian but possibly the high altar of the church, which did come before the three sarcophagi. Indeed, in 1511 the altar of Saint Fabian, rather than that of Saint Sebastian in the apse, was still the high altar of the church [6]. Moreover, placing the altar in the nave apparently occured in Rome in the fourth century, but not later [7]. At S. Sebastiano, this position may have been further determined by the presence of the memoria complex on the lower level in the first two-level structure. In any event, the placing of the altar of Saint Fabian in the nave, far closer to the façade than to the apse, is an element not to be disregarded in envisaging the early structure.

4. Later remodelings

The church of S. Sebastiano underwent its major transformation when the arcades of the nave were blocked. The ambulatory and both aisles were thus eliminated and the church was reduced to the nave alone. The south aisle and the adjoining mausolea were occupied by a medieval convent. They were transformed and incorporated into its buildings including a large refectory and, near the transverse center axis of the nave, a campanile. The ambulatory and the west section of

[1] See above, p. 135 f.
[2] See above, dig. 401-417.
[3] See above, Vol. II, p. 142.
[4] Styger, 1918, p. 18 and no. 1; Idem, *Märtyrergrüfte*, pp. 25, 28 f.
[5] See above, p. 109, note 5.
[6] See *ibid.*
[7] Examples are S. Marco and S. Maria in Trastevere; see above, Vol. II, p. 242; Vol. III, p. 68 f.

the north aisle were still standing, in large part, at the end of the sixteenth century (fig. 90). Presumably in the same medieval remodeling, the colonnaded porch known from descriptions and early views was added to the façade of the nave [1], while some of the nave windows were walled up, leaving smaller windows in a number of the blockings [2].

The remodeling undertaken by Cardinal Borghese [3] left the building structurally unchanged. It was limited to the addition of a dome with supporting arch and piers over the chancel bay, the construction of the present narthex and upper chamber and the redecoration of the nave walls. Also at that time the remaining original clerestorey windows were blocked and replaced by the present squarish windows.

G. CHRONOLOGY

1. The Memoria

The date of the first large Christian structure on the site, the memoria complex, can be established within narrow limits. When its courtyard was laid out, the mausoleum of the Innocentiores became inaccessible, and a graffito in that mausoleum, bearing the date 249 A.D. establishes a *terminus post quem* for the memoria enclosure [4]. On the other hand, the graffito of 260 A.D. on the rear wall of the *triclia* establishes a *terminus ante quem* [5]. Within these limits, the notice in the *Depositio Martyrum* supplemented by the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* provides the likely date of 258 A.D. for the layout of the complex [6]. It is beyond the scope of this *Corpus* to consider the exact meaning of the notice, that is, whether it refers to the transfer of relics of Saints Peter and Paul, the transfer of their festival or the revival of an older cult on the site [7].

2. The basilica

a) The original building and the mausolea

A *terminus ante quem* is readily established for the construction of the basilical covered graveyard. The easternmost mausoleum along the south flank, the rotunda of the Uranii, no. 41, contained *in situ* an epitaph of 349 [8]. The rotunda was built against the earlier east wall of mausoleum 42, and this in turn rested against the flank of the large apsed mausoleum 43. The latter, one recalls, opened in a triple arch onto the south aisle of the basilica and was built either simultaneously with the south aisle or slightly later. Hence, the basilica must have been built some time before 349. Similarly, the position of the grave of Panigyrius in the top layer of *formae*, high above the memoria enclosure, suggests that by 357 quite some time had been spent in filling the low western portions of the basilica with four and five layers of graves [9]. But nothing indicates whether it was a

[1] See above, p. 104, and note 2.
[2] See above, p. 131, and notes 3, 4; see also fig. 115.
[3] See above, dig. 1609-1612.
[4] See above, p. 114.
[5] See above, dig. 260.
[6] See above, dig. 258.
[7] Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, 1959, p. 153 f.; Klauser, *op. cit.*, 1956, p. 22.
[8] See above, dig. 349, and p. 137.
[9] See above, dig. 357 and p. 134.

few years or a few decades before 349 and 357 that building was started. Nor does the monogram on the threshold of the precinct gate near the Via Appia provide anything but the vaguest *terminus ad*: its reading — Constantinus, Constans or Constantius — remains in doubt, and thus its date is some time between late in 312 and 361. Even if the readings Constans or Constantius and thus a date either between 337 and 350 or between 350 and 361 were certain, the basilica might well antedate the precinct and its gate by quite some time [1]. Similarly, the evidence is vague regarding a possible *terminus post quem* for its construction. It has been pointed out that none of the graffiti in the *triclia* contain the *chrism* and that the memoria complex therefore was probably no longer accessible after 313, when that symbol became commonly accepted; but *argumenta ex silentio* are dangerous. The same holds of a suggestion made verbally by Enrico Josi; he has pointed out that the structure is not mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, neither in the biography of Sylvester, which deals with Constantine's foundations in Rome, nor in those of Popes Mark and Julius I. Thus, he concludes, it might antedate Constantine and date from the reign of Maxentius, that is, under Popes Marcellus, Eusebius or Miltiades [2].

The style of the masonry in itself is of little help. Alternate courses of tufa and brick with the same proportion of mortar are to be found in Roman architecture from the time of Septimius Severus to the fifth century. Nevertheless one small factor in the structure of the basilica may be significant. The use of elliptical window arches is uncommon and seems to be a personal idiosyncracy of the architect; he also used an ellipse for the plan of the ambulatory arcade. Consequently it is of some importance that precisely the same characteristic is present in the arches which span the ornamental niches surrounding the central pier of the tomb of Romulus, son of Maxentius, which stands opposite the basilica on the other side of the Via Appia. Its date of construction, 310 to 311, is well established [3]. Moreover, for what it is worth, it may be noted that the peristyle surrounding Romulus' tomb has masonry very similar to that of the basilica. Hence, it seems probable that the architect who designed Romulus, tomb was also responsible for the Basilica Apostolorum. Indeed, it does not seem at all impossible that construction was started between 310 and 313; Maxentius' tolerance in religious matters is well known [4]. The precinct wall along Via Appia may well have been completed between 337 and 350, more or less at the time when the two-level plan of the basilica gave way to its one-level stage. But the basilica itself is a uniform construction erected in one comparatively short building period [5].

The mausolea along the south flank of the *coemeterium subteglatum ad catacumbas* (except cella δ, on the third century level of the memoria complex) all rose in the course of the fourth century. The large mausoleum 43, built either simultaneously with the south wall of the basilica or slightly later, was apparently the starting point. From there the mausolea developed both east, terminating prior to or in 349 with the rotunda of the Uranii, no. 41, and west, where they end with the Platonia, a large mausoleum built by Pope Damasus (366-384) in memory of the Princes of the Apostles [6]. The Platonia was apparently intended as a favorite burial place for outstanding members of the Christian community, but it received new significance when, under Damasus

[1] See above, dig. 312-361 and p. 136; Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 227 ff., strongly favors the reading Constans and therefore the date 337-350. While Denis-Boulet, *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff. reads it as Constantius and prefers a date about 357, for the gateway; but she correctly points out that the basilica is probably much earlier.
[2] Styger, 1918, p. 88 f.
[3] Nibby, *Roma nel 1838*, I, p. 632 ff.
[4] Schoenebeck, *Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Konstantin. (Klio, Beiheft 43)*, Leipzig, 1939.
[5] There is no evidence for the recurring suggestion (recently taken up by Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 13) that the perimeter wall antedates the arcade and clerestorey walls, or that the building was originally planned as a *basilica discoperta*.
[6] See above, p. 138, and dig. 366-384.

or slightly later, the relics of the martyr Quirinus were deposited here after their transfer from Siscia in Pannonia [1]. Similarly, Saint Eutychius' burial place in the catacomb or possibly in its entrance chamber, the Crypt of Saint Sebastian, was commemorated by Damasus in an inscription [2]. The grave of Saint Sebastian, presumably in that same entrance chamber, had possibly also been venerated for quite some time when, under Innocent I, it was decorated or enclosed by a screen given by the two presbyters, Proclinus and Ursus; their dedicatory inscription suggests also that the *titulus Byzantis*, incorporated into SS. Giovanni e Paolo, had by that time, if not before, been placed in charge of the *coemeterium* [3] (figs. 128, 129).

Certainly by the fifth century, when the last, obviously added, paragraph of the *Passio Quirini* was composed, the *coemeterium* had become known as the *basilica apostolorum* [4]. This term and *ecclesia apostolorum* remained the official designations as late as the pontificate of Hadrian I [5]. But as early as the seventh century it had unofficially become the "*ecclesia sancti Sebastiani*" [6], and this title has remained ever since.

b) Later remodelings

The extent of the repairs undertaken on the church by Hadrian I is still unknown [7]. The major remodeling of the church, the blocking of the arcades which resulted in cutting off the aisles and ambulatory, has occasionally been attributed to his pontificate [8], but it actually dates considerably later. It probably took place in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century [9], when the area of the south aisle was occupied by the buildings of a convent, including the campanile. The masonry of these structures is *opera saracinesca* and solid brick in the lower parts of the campanile; alternating bands of travertine blocks and bricks are used in the upper wall of the adjoining wing [10]. Both these techniques are customary in Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries [11]. The windows of the clerestorey may well have been blocked at the same time, as suggested by the shape of the small windows inserted into the blocking of the original façade windows. Likewise, the portico which extended in front of the nave prior to 1609 bears all the hallmarks of a thirteenth century Roman narthex, illustrated for instance by S. Giorgio in Velabro and S. Lorenzo f.l.m. [12]. The consecration by Honorius III of the altar of Saint Sebastian in the crypt and the altar in the apse may have marked the end of this building campaign; however, construction may have taken place in several phases over nearly a century, as possession of the church shifted first to the Cistercians and then to the Lateran Canons [13].

New repairs became necessary in the course of the fifteenth century, but they were apparently minor, including brick pavement in the nave and portico and perhaps a new frame for the main door which led from the portico into the church [14].

The last major rebuilding, under Cardinal Borghese, need not be discussed [15].

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1 Ferrua, *op. cit.*, 1937, *passim*.
2 See above, dig. 366-384.
3 See above, dig. 401-417.
4 *AA. SS., Junii*, I, p. 382. While the *passio* has been assigned to the early V century, the date of the addition remains unknown.
5 See above, dig. 772-795.
6 See above, dig. 638-642.
7 See above, dig. 772-795.
8 Fasolo, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
9 Pacini, *op. cit.*, p. 7, suggests the pontificate of Honorius III, 1216-27.
10 Fornari, *op. cit.*, 1928, esp. p. 12 ff. and figs. 1, 2 and 5.
11 See above, Vol. II, p. 139 ff.
12 See above, Vol. I, pp. 248 f., 262 n. 3; II, pp. 35 f., 140.
13 See above, digs. 1161, 1218, 1254-61.
14 See above, digs. 1431-1447, 1466-1469, 1471-1484.
15 See above, digs. 1609-1612.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Sebastiano, the *basilica apostolorum* on the Via Appia, clearly belongs to the group of covered graveyards, *coemeteria subteglata*, which were discovered and identified in the 1950's along the great roads of the Roman Campagna: SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana; the *basilica maior* of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. on the Tiburtina; the *coemeterium Agnetis* on the Nomentana [1]. A fourth structure of the same type has been found in the Villa dei Gordiani on the Via Prenestina; but it has been neither fully excavated nor identified as to name, date or function. The plan, date of construction and function of the other three are known, and their elevation can be reconstructed with some assurance. As pointed out previously [2], all were U-shaped, with their aisles enveloping the apse as an ambulatory. They were all basilicas, their clerestorey walls carried by rows of supports, either piers or columns. They were very large indeed, and they date from Constantinian times, if we take the term in its wider sense, that is, between 320 and 350. They all rose on imperial estates and were covered with graves, surrounded by mausolea and located close to the grave of a martyr in a neighboring catacomb. Finally, they were all designed to provide space for the dead and the living: for burial, funeral banquets, assemblies near the *martyrium* and the celebrations of the Eucharist on the Saint's day [3].

S. Sebastiano shares with these buildings all essential elements: the function, the U-shaped plan, the location near a great road, the piers (they are comparable to the piers found at SS. Marcellino e Pietro) and the size: its length of 73.40 m. is somewhere between that of SS. Marcellino e Pietro (63 m.) and S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo (97 and 99.80 m. respectively). However, in some points it is set off from the rest of the group. None of them has so far shown any traces of *loculi* held in place by fin walls along the inner flanks; and in none is the *martyrium* enclosed within the nave as it was the case in S. Sebastiano. Both of these features may have been engendered by the formation of the terrain, which provided space on the steep east slope from the valley behind the basilica to the Via Appia. But they may also be indications of an early date and thus might be features eliminated in the later examples. Indeed, S. Sebastiano, one recalls, may antedate Constantine's reign by a few years and thus be the first of the *coemeteria subteglata*.

Finally, it is worth noting that S. Sebastiano is the only *coemeterium subteglatum* to survive with but little structural change. The other covered graveyards all were abandoned once their original function, burial and funeral banquets, had become obsolete. In their place as a rule, *basilicae ad corpus*, erected over the nearby grave of the martyr, became the real cult center, as at S. Lorenzo in 579 to 590 and at S. Agnese, 625 to 638. S. Sebastiano remained in continued use, even after the last burial had taken place in 567, because it continued to be a cult center. It is true that the *memoria apostolorum*, its original *raison d'être*, had been filled in, probably as early as the middle of the fourth century; but it also sheltered, probably from the outset, the grave of the martyr Sebastian, which remained accessible as did the grave of Quirinus, transferred there in the last third of the fourth century. Hence, from its very beginning it was not only a *coemeterium subteglatum* complementary to a nearby *martyrium*, but also a *basilica ad corpus* enclosing a martyr's grave. This combination may well explain the survival of the building.

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1 See above, p. 110 and n. 1.
2 See above, Vol. II, pp. 140 ff., 203 f.
3 Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 15 ff.

S. SILVESTRO IN CAPITE

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)

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1474 Anonymous, Sketch view of church, pen and ink; Strozzi map, Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Red. 77 (De Rossi, *Piante*, pl. 4).

1518 Antonio del Tanghero, Plan of church, pen and ink; Florence, Casa Buonarroti, nos. 114 A and 122 A (Gaynor-Toesca, fig. 5).

ca. 1550 Palladio, Plan and elevation of classical buildings ("*terme Domitianae ... dove e hora il monastero di S. Silvestro e se ne vedono ancora certe vestigia*") presumably occupying the site of the church and convent and their vicinity, pen and ink; London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Burlington Collection, X, f. 17 (Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1894, pls. 12-14; Zorzi, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Naples, 1959, p. 61, no. 15 and fig. 68; our fig. 133).

1551 Bufalini, Plan of church and convent, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911).

1577 Dupérac-Lafréry, View of church and monastery, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, Rome, 1908; our fig. 131).

1591 Francesco da Volterra, Ground plan and elevation showing east side of nave, cross section of apse and choir, pen and wash; Rome, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Mappe, cart. 86, no. 531 (Gaynor-Toesca, figs. 4, 8; our fig. 139).

1593 Tempesta, View of church and monastery, woodcut; *Urbis Romae Prospectus* (ed. Schück, Stockholm, 1915); republished, map of 1606 (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932).

1600 Franzini, View of façade of church with campanile and monastery, woodcut; Franzini-Parisi, *Cose maravigliose*, Rome, 1600, p. 57 (also in Felini, *Cose maravigliose*, Rome, 1615, p. 71, and Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1653, p. 106; our fig. 130)[1].

1619 Giovannoli, View of east façade of monastery complex, engraving; *Roma antica*, Rome, 1619, f. 4. (our fig. 132).

1625 Maggi, View of church and convent, woodcut; Maggi-Maupin-Losi, Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1915).

1676 Falda, View of church and convent, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente X*, Rome, 1931).

1725 Panciroli-Posterla-Cecconi, View of new façade of forecourt, woodcut; *Roma sacra e moderna*, p. 170.

1748 Nolli, Plan of church, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV*, Vatican City, 1932).

1761 Anonymous, Plan of church, convent buildings and courtyard, pen and ink; Rome, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Mappe, cart. 86, no. 531 (Gaynor-Toesca, fig. 11).

1821—1845 Letarouilly, Plan of church, engraving; *Édifices*, III, pl. 279.

C. DATES

761, June 2 Paul I establishes a monastery in his own house, dedicated to Saints Stephen and Sylvester, "*in nomine beatorum Stephani papae et martyris atque Silvestri papae et confessoris Christi ... in domo quae mihi parentali successione obvenit*" (*Bullarium magnum Romanum*, I, ed. Coquelines, Rome, 1739, p. 154; Migne, *P.L.*, 89, col. 1191). The relics of Stephen and Sylvester are placed in an oratory located on an upper floor of the monastery, "*... in sua propria domu monasterium a fundamentis in honore sancti Stephani scilicet martyris atque pontificis, necnon et beati Silvestri, idem pontificis et confessoris Christi construxit. Ubi et oraculum in superioribus eiusdem monasterii moeniis aedificans, eorum corpora magna cum veneratione condidit*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 464). Inside the monastery he builds a large church in which he deposits relics brought from the catacombs and for which he provides mosaics, marble revetment, altar furnishings and a silver ciborium: "*Infra claustra vero ipsius monasterii ecclesiam mirae pulchritudinis a fundamentis noviter construxit, quam musibo et marmoribus decorans et omnem illic ornatum in auro argentoque et diversis speciebus largiens; sed et*

[1] Franzini-Parisi may be using an unused woodcut of Fra Santi; the latter mistakenly provided the woodcut of S. Silvestro in Quirinale to accompany his note on S. Silvestro in Capite.

cyburium ibidem ex argento librarum ... fecit, illicque innumerabilium sanctorum corpora quae de praefatis demolitis abstulit cymiteriis maximo venerationis condidit affectu " (*L.P.*, I, p. 464 f.). The church is provided with real estate, urban and rural, and staffed with Greek monks: " *Ubi et monachorum congregationem constituens grece modulationis psalmodie cynocium esse decrevit* " (*L.P.*, I, p. 465). Twenty bishops and nine priests sign the bull (*Bullarium magnum Romanum*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 154). The name of the patron saint of the church is not given.

761, July 19 Paul has the body of Pope Sylvester transferred " *in hoc oraculum* " (*ibid.*; MIGNE, *P.L.*, 89, col. 1196).

761, August 17 Paul transfers the relics of Pope Stephen to the oratory (*ibid.*).

761 In a letter addressed to Leontius, " *religioso presbytero et abbati venerabilis monasterii sanctorum Stephani martyris atque Silvestri* ", and witnessed by forty-one bishops and priests, Paul repeats the reasons for founding the monastery, tells of the transfer of relics from the catacombs, and lists the possessions and facilities of the monastery (MIGNE, *P.L.*, 89, col. 1190 f.).

768 Passivus, a leader of the opposition to Stephen III, is placed in custody in the monastery: " *Passibum vero in monasterio sancti Silvestri direxerunt* " (*L.P.*, I, p. 471).

799 During a procession from the Lateran to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Leo III is attacked by rioters " *ante monasterium sanctorum Stephani et Silvestri* ", dragged to the confessio in front of the altar, *ad ipsius monasterii ecclesiae confessionis ... ante ipsum altarem* ", injured and confined to the monastery (*L.P.*, II, p. 4 f.).

End VIII cent. Listed as " SCI. SILVESTRI " in the Einsiedeln itinerary (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, cols. 439, 441).

802—806 Leo III gives two textiles, one to the main church (" *una in basilica maiore* "), the other to the oratory (" *et alia ... in oratorio* ") (*L.P.*, II, p. 11), and a silver lamp to the monastery(" *in monasterio sancti Silvestri* ") (*L.P.*, II, p. 22)[1].

VIII-IX century Two inscriptions, now in the portico of the church, list the relics deposited in the church and the festival days for the respective saints and martyrs, both male and female, the former including that of SCI DYONISII PAPE on December 27; no mention is made of either Saint Stephen or Saint Sylvester or, for that matter, of Saint Dionysius of Paris, October 9 (GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 11 f.; GRAY, " The Paleography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries in Italy ", *Papers Brit. School* 16 (1948), p. 52, n. 10; LOENERTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 118 f.).

827—844 Gregory IV donates textiles " *in monasterio Sancti Silvestri* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 79).

844 (?) A bull of Sergius II mentions restorations, but the bull is spurious (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 303; FEDERICI, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 263).

856, January The Tiber floods the church " *et ingressus est in ecclesia beati Silvestri, ita ut ex grados qui ascendunt in basilica beati Dionysii prae multitudine aquarum ne unus grados videretur* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 145). This is the earliest identification of the " *basilica maior* " by the name of its patron, " *basilica beati Dionysii* ", that is, Pope Dionysius († 268)[2].

858 Nicolas I is elected to the papacy " *in basilica beati Dionysii* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 151).

860, October The Tiber floods again " *et ingressus est in monasterium sancti Silvestri ... ascendunt in basilica beati Dionisii ...* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 153). The report of the flood is the same as that of 856, except for the now correct phrase " *in monasterium sancti Silvestri* ".

858—867 Pope Nicolas I gives to the " *aecclesia maiore qui vocatur sancti Dionysii* " four curtains (" *vela IIII de stauraci* ") for the altar (*ibid.*).

931—936 A bull of John XI lists properties of the monastery (FEDERICI, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 226).

955 Agapitus II, in a bull addressed to Abbot Leonius, " *monasterii SS. Christi martirum Stephani et Dionisii et confessoris Christi qui appellatur Cata Pauli* ", confirms S. Silvestro's possession of the monastery of S. Valentino and the Milvian Bridge and its revenues, according to a previous privilege of " *Johanni predecessori nostro* " (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 304).

962, March 8 A bull of John XII lists the monastery's possessions, including the column of Marcus Aurelius (FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 305).

1119 " *Petrus humilis abbas* " puts up a plaque in the portico of the church (" *S. Dionysii* ") recording the monastery's possession of the column (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IX, p. 79, no. 149).

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[1] For the dates of Leo's gifts, see HÜLSEN, " Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III ", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1923), p. 110.

[2] LOENERTZ, p. 118 f., has identified the patron of the church correctly as Pope Dionysius I, thus refuting the former identification with Dionysius (Saint Denis) of Paris; the latter was based on a legend fabricated about 835 by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis to the effect that Pope Stephen II, the brother and predecessor of Paul I, had brought to Rome relics of Saint Denis from his journey to France in 754.

1123 Callistus II consecrates the high altar, placing relics in it. His chamberlain Alfanus makes gifts to the church, including a pavement; inscription, formerly on high altar (SEVERANO, *Sette Chiese*, p. 350 f.).

1130—1133 The monastery obtains the head of Saint John the Baptist (GIACCHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

1198—1216 Innocent III constructs a campanile and executes restorations in various parts of the church, including cosmatesque pavements in a chapel and before the high altar (GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 26; NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, p. 713).

1267 Relics of Pope Dionysius (believed to be Saint Denis of Paris) and others are transferred to the altar of Saints Paul and Nicolas (GIACCHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.).

1285 The nuns of Saint Clare obtain possession of the convent.

1290, 1300, 1380 Colonna, Palombara and Tedallini Chapels are built (GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 40 f.).

1517, July 1 Leo X raises S. Silvestro to the rank of title church (CARLETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 168; EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica*, III, Münster, 1923, p. 70 and n. 4).

1518—1520 A high altar originally to have been designed by Michelangelo is completed in 1520, though not after the projects he submitted; it replaces the altar dedicated in 1267 (GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 94 ff., summarizing POPP, " Unbeachtete Projekte Michelangelos ", *Münchner Jahrbuch* N.F. 4 (1927), p. 452 ff.; and BAROCCHI, *Michelangelo e la sua scuola. I disegni di Casa Buonarroti e degli Uffizi*, I, Florence, 1962, pp. 51, 298).

1591—1601 Francesco da Volterra and Carlo Maderno supervise the rebuilding of the church. The medieval furnishings are removed (GIACCHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ff.; GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 47).

1598 Relics are discovered in the confessio (GIACCHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

1698 Clement XI erects a new façade designed by Domenico de' Rossi (PANCIROLI-POSTERLA-CECCONI, *op. cit.*, p. 171 f.).

1820, April 20 Ancient pavement is found below Piazza S. Silvestro " at the corner opposite the church " (see FEA, *Varietà di Notizie economiche, fisiche, antiquarie...*, Rome, 1820, p. 181 f., with reference to previous finds of different parts of the same pavement).

1871 The nuns are expelled from the convent, the last ones leaving in 1876. The Ministry of Public Works takes over the buildings (GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 28).

1876 While work is in progress transforming the convent into the General Post Office, fragments of classical architraves, columns and capitals and Christian sarcophagi and inscriptions are discovered (FIORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 136 f.).

1885 Leo X reopens S. Silvestro as the English national church in Rome.

1906—1907 During construction of the new confessio, portions of the eighth century church are unearthed, including the foundation walls of the nave colonnades, the northern terminating walls of both aisles and the outer wall of the east aisle (VAGLIERI, *loc. cit.*, 1907; GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 11).

1962 Excavations below the Chapel of the Sacred Heart bring to light part of the east colonnade of the nave, the east aisle and south walls of the east aisle (*ibid.*).

1965 One of the columns of the west colonnade is uncovered by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church with its forecourt and the convent of S. Silvestro formerly occupied the whole of a large insula lying northeast of the column of Marcus Aurelius, but on the opposite side of, and one street removed from, Via del Corso. To the south the insula faces Piazza di S. Silvestro; to the west it is bounded by Via del Gambero; to the north by Via della Vite and to the east by Via del Moretto. From 1280 until 1873, except for a few months in 1849, the nuns of Saint Clare inhabited the convent. In 1873 the nuns were transferred to S. Cecilia, the church was closed, and the convent was converted to secular use; it is now the General Post Office. The church, in the southwest quarter of the insula, was restored to religious use in 1885 as the English national church in Rome[1]. The buildings, as they presented themselves still in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, are known from ancient maps and views (figs. 130, 131, 132). The church, preceded by a narthex, stood inside a wide courtyard formed on three sides by the convent buildings, on the fourth by a wall, facing Piazza di S. Silvestro. Less clearly, ancient descriptions, archeological discoveries and a drawing by Palladio attest to the buildings which occupied the area in classical times. Roman ruins were seen behind the church by antiquarians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; from the readings of brick stamps found on the site they were identified with the Thermae of Domitian[2]. However, a drawing by Palladio, first published by Lanciani, shows the site occupied by part of a very large building complex (fig. 133)[3]. Extending from Piazza S. Claudio, roughly one hundred meters south of the church, to the Via Frattina, one hundred meters north, the complex was formed by two large enclosures, different in size and shape, linked together by a square structure which stood roughly on the site of the church[4]. The smaller of the two enclosures, to the south, was rectangular; it had exedrae projecting from its walls and a *monopteros* in the center. The larger enclosure, to the north, was oval (or possibly circus-shaped) and its walls were articulated by two superimposed orders of niches and engaged columns. The identification of the complex remains in doubt. Recent opinion inclines towards identifying it with Aurelian's Temple of the Sun but the evidence is inconclusive[5]. The rich fragments of architectural sculpture found below the northeast corner and below the chancel of the church can be safely assigned to these Roman constructions[6], but their plan apparently exerted no impact on the layout of church and convent. Nevertheless, stretches of two successive pavements found below Piazza S. Silvestro are of some significance for the building history of the church. The lower pavement, of travertine, was seen twice in the early nineteenth century in a wide stretch, 18 *palmi*, or four meters below Piazza S. Silvestro, diagonally across from the southwest corner of the church complex; in the seventeenth century another piece was apparently found beyond the southeast corner of the piazza, near Via del Moretto[7]; it apparently belonged to the Roman structures extending over the area. The other pavement, of marble, was found at a

[1] Gaynor-Toesca, *passim*.
[2] Biondo, *Roma ristaurata*, 1543 (written in 1447), c. 27'; Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1588 (first edition, Rome 1527), c. 91; and, with reservations, Nardini, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1771 (first edition, Rome, 1666), p. 1017.
[3] Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1894, pl. 12 f.; Zorzi, *loc. cit.*
[4] The engraving of 1619 by Giovannoli (our fig. 132) shows the *east* wall of the complex toward what is now Via del Moretto.
[5] Lanciani, *loc. cit.*, 1894; Hülsen, *op. cit.*, pl. 4; and Lugli, *Monumenti*, III, p. 276.
[6] Fiorelli, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Vaglieri, *loc. cit.*, 1908; Not. Sc., *loc. cit.*, 1908.
[7] Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1894, p. 287, with reference to a note by Fea in Diario romano, 1820 (presumably the one republished in Fea's *Varietà di notizie...*, cited above, dig. 1820). See also Lanciani, *F. U. R.*, pl. 12; Gaynor-Toesca, p. 28; and below, p. 157.



(Cose maravigliose, p. 57)

Fig. 130. S. Silvestro in Capite. Franzini, South façade of atrium and convent, 1600

depth of only 2.40 m. near the façade of the forecourt of S. Silvestro, in a stretch 3.20 m. wide. Obviously it dates much later than the large travertine pavement[1]. Both levels incidentally, are considerably higher than the ancient Via Flaminia, which lies 5.30 m. below Via del Corso.

The church complex, consisting of forecourt, flanking buildings and the church itself, is set out axially from south to north, The façade of the forecourt, with pilasters, entablature and attic, faces south towards the piazza. It was designed and built in 1703 by Domenico de' Rossi; to the east it was continued by the convent façade, remodeled about the same time[2]. Prior to that, the façade of the convent had been articulated by buttresses and was blind except for a gabled doorway leading to a staircase (fig. 130); below ground, the buttresses seem to have survived until the eighteenth century[3]. The left hand



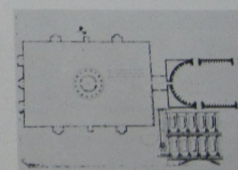
(Map of Rome, detail)

Fig. 131. S. Silvestro in Capite. Duperac-Lafréry, View of church, 1577



(Vedute degli antichi vestigi di Roma, pl. 73)

Fig. 132. S. Silvestro in Capite. Giovannoli, Convent, east façade, 1619



(Zorzi, Disegni, pl. 68)

Fig. 133. S. Silvestro in Capite. Palladio, Plan and elevation

flank of the church and its forecourt along Via del Gambero show the smooth brick masonry characteristic of the latter half of the sixteenth century, but this may simply be the facing of a medieval core[4]. The forecourt behind the south façade, as Fra Santi's woodcut shows, was entered through a barrel-vaulted gateway which seems to be the same vaulted entry which today leads from Piazza S. Silvestro to the forecourt. The small courtyard is flanked on the

[1] Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1894, p. 285 ff.
[2] See Falda's map of 1676, cited above, p. 149; Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, p. 363.
[3] For the survival of the buttresses, see Gaynor-Toesca, p. 11.
[4] Toesca, *ibid.*, p. 41.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)
Fig. 134. S. Silvestro in Capite. Interior

left by the parish house, on the right by the western wing of the post office. On the north side of the court an arcaded portico of late sixteenth century date shelters a single doorway through which the church is entered. The doorway is set off about 0.40 m. to the left of the center line of church and courtyard. At the west end of the portico is a Romanesque campanile.

The first bay of the nave forms a low inner narthex surmounted by the organ loft which rests, towards the nave, on two columns — one of *cipollino*, the other of black marble — 4.50 m. high, including bases and capitals. Doorways at each end of the narthex lead to chapels: that of the Baptist to the west, of the Sacred Heart to the east. In plan and elevation, though not in decoration, the interior of the church still presents itself as it was rebuilt between 1591 and 1601 under the direction of Francesco da Volterra and Carlo Maderno (pl. IX; fig. 134). A lofty barrel-vaulted nave, measuring 19 m. by 11 m. and 15 m. high, is flanked on each side by three lateral chapels. The nave terminates in a transept the same height as the nave but only 7 m. wide; the crossing is surmounted by an elliptical dome. Beyond the transept, continuing the nave, steps ascend to the high altar, set against the rear wall of an apsidal presbytery [1]. The rich interior decoration of the church, with stucco work and frescoes covering the vaults and dome, was designed and executed between 1680 and 1694, first by Carlo Rainaldi, and later by Mattia and Domenico de' Rossi, supported by the painters Lodovico Gimignani, Giacinto Brandi, Giuseppe Chiari, Francesco Trevisani and others [2]. The open confessio, which interrupts the transept floor below the dome and in front of the high altar, was constructed only between 1906 and 1908. Stairs descend from the nave to the center part of the confessio, which is flanked by cavern-like bays extending east and west, while a third bay, to the north, penetrates the area beneath the high altar. The pavement of the confessio and of its extensions lies 3.60 m. below the nave.

E. ANALYSIS

Within this sixteenth and seventeenth century structure only scanty remains of the original building are identifiable (pl. IX). In the north side of the two lateral bays of the confessio, the

[1] Francesco da Volterra's first project of 1591 (cited above, p. 149), discovered by Ilaria Toesca, shows only two (slightly wider) chapels on each side of the nave, narrow transept wings, and a shallow rectangular chancel flanked by sacristies. The documentation for the rebuilding in all its phases as well as for the redecoration of the church in the late seventeenth century has been carefully gathered and interpreted by Toesca in her admirable contribution to GAYNOR-TOESCA, p. 37 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*; see also LAVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

foundations of the end walls of the old church are exposed (figs. 135, 136). Their technique of construction is typical of the reused Servian block technique, familiar in many a Carolingian church in Rome. In the north side of the east bay the foundation wall has four courses of large roughly-hewn blocks of yellow tufa, each course 0.60 to 0.70 m. in height. The north wall of the west bay is similar. In each case the top courses of tufa rise to within 1.05 m. of the present nave pavement.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)
Fig. 135. S. Silvestro in Capite. Foundation walls of rear wall of west aisle and (right edge) of left hand nave colonnade



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)
Fig. 136. S. Silvestro in Capite. Foundation walls of rear wall of east aisle and (left edge) of right hand nave colonnade

Presumably these tufa walls are the foundations of the original north wall of the church, reused in the substructure of the sixteenth century edifice.

Further foundation walls stand at right angles to the end walls of the first church. The opening which connects the central part of the confessio to its east bay is cut through a longitudinal wall of the same Servian block masonry, about 1.50 m. thick. The wall is bonded to the north wall, and it crosses the area of the transept in line whith the arcade which fronts the three side chapels on the east side of the nave. On the opposite side of the confessio, the archway which opens into the western bay is revetted with modern plaster and the existence of Servian blocks cannot be positively ascertained, but since the wall is also 1.50 m. thick we presume that it corresponds with the eastern foundation wall and also consists of Servian block masonry. Thus ancient foundation walls, of the same material as the north wall and parallel to each other, stand in the northern part of the church in line with the sides of the present nave; and it is more than likely that the arched entrances of the three chapels on either side of the sixteenth century nave are erected on similar foundations, belonging to an antecedent nave; thus the thick longitudinal walls seen in the confessio are probably the stylobates of former nave colonnades. Embedded in the structure of the eastern stylobate near its junction with the north foundation wall a fragment of a horizontal slab of marble, about 0.15 m. thick, lies at the top of the Servian block masonry and one meter below the present nave floor. This fragment seems to be part of the pavement at the base of the former colonnade; if so, it indicates the floor level of the building to which the Servian block foundations originally belonged.

In the southeast corner of the church, similar Servian block foundations were discovered in 1962, when a vaulted crypt beneath the Chapel of the Sacred Heart, to the right of the inner narthex, was temporarily opened. The ancient foundations form the south, east and west walls of a subterranean chamber. The south foundation wall stands directly beneath the south wall of the present church, that is, the north wall of the portico. The east foundation wall has the same alignment as the side wall of the present church. The west foundation wall appears to stand in line



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 137. S. Silvestro in Capite. Column of right hand (east) arcade seen from chapel of the Sacred Heart (1962)

with the Servian block foundations noted in the area of the transept. The east and west walls are parallel and stand 4.30 m. apart. It is clear that the junction of the south and east walls in the crypt chamber represents the southeast corner of the right hand aisle of the original church, while the west wall represents the stylobate of the nave colonnade. In this stylobate, 0.90 m. below present floor level, another marble slab, 0.12 m. thick, was found, presumably indicating the floor level of the early building. Upon this slab stands a column, erect and imbedded in the masonry of the wall which now divides the corner chapel from the inner narthex (pl. IX; fig. 137) The shaft is of red granite, 0.40 m. in diameter and 3.75 m. in height; it stands on an attic base, 25 cm. high, and supports a Corinthian capital of white marble, 40 cm. high. South of the column and at a distance of 0.15 m. from the side of the shaft, a rectangular brick pilaster protrudes 0.50 m. from the plane of the south wall. Apparently the pilaster and the column were coupled together to compose the end pier of the former colonnade. Not enough of the pilaster is conserved to allow its date to be judged from the style of the brickwork. What remains is irregularly coursed, and the unusually high modulus of 7 to 8 courses per Roman foot seems more likely to denote the Romanesque period than any other. The south wall of the aisle, now of the Chapel of the Sacred Heart, appears to have been rebuilt or refaced in recent times.

During the restoration of the church in 1965 a second column was uncovered inside the west wall of the nave, which separates it from the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist off the inner narthex (pl. IX; fig. 138). The column, visible from the chapel, is located 4.10 m. from the inner face of the façade wall; it appears to have the same measurements as the column found inside the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. Obviously it was the second support in the left hand colonnade of the nave, Presuming, as is likely, an arrangement of a coupled pilaster and column at the beginning of the left hand colonnade like the one found to the right, the distance from center to center between first and second columns is 3.25 m.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 138. S. Silvestro in Capite. Column in left arcade seen from chapel of Saint John the Baptist

F. RECONSTRUCTION

The Servian block foundations, the remains of the south end pier of the east colonnade and a few scattered columns enable us to reconstruct the bare outlines of the church to which they belonged. Apparently it was a simple basilica with a nave roughly 10 m. wide, flanked by aisles about 5 m. wide and some 33 m. long. Presumably the aisles were separated from the nave by colonnades whose approximate level in indicated by floor slabs found in two places, 0.90 and 1.00 below the modern level. The columns discovered in the Chapels of the Sacred Heart and of Saint John the Baptist indicate the height of the colonnades, 4.40 m. including bases and capitals. One or two similar columns, also of granite, are said to be hidden inside the piers on the left side of the nave; they were seen in 1845 but are no longer visible[1]. The height of the two columns supporting the organ loft, ca. 4.50 m., suggests that they too may come from the original colonnades. But none of the columns is likely to occupy its original position, and presumably they were relocated in a medieval rebuilding. Certainly such rearrangement of the colonnades is suggested by the coupling of column and pier at the south end of the original right hand aisle — a distinctly medieval rather than a Carolingian practice. From its form, the coupled support is more likely to have supported a lintel than an arch and, if so, the nave colonnade would have been trabeated; however, arcading is not entirely impossible. In any event the masonry of the pier seems Romanesque and is thus useless for reconstructing the original church. The intercolumniations in the Romanesque remodeling, as given by the position of the two known columns, were apparently 3.20 m.; and since the total length of the nave was 31.60 m., the number of intercolumniations was presumably ten. On the other hand, spacing and number of columns in the first church and all details of the clerestorey remain completely unknown.

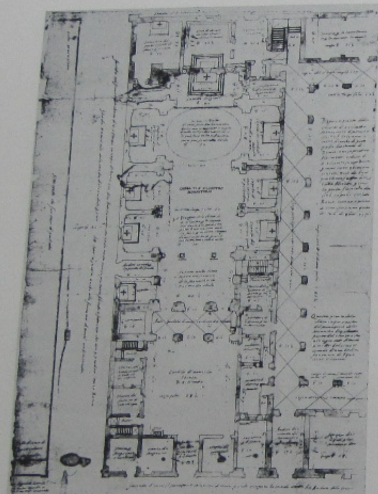
The placing of the campanile against the south end of the west aisle toward 1200[2] suggests that the church then faced south, towards the center of the medieval city, as it does today. Since this would also be the natural direction of approach when the first church was built, it is likely that the orientation has never been changed. A further indication regarding the approach is provided by the *Liber Pontificalis*. The Tiber, in 856 and 860, flooded the center of town along Via Flaminia, rising as high as the lintel of the entrance to S. Maria in Via Lata and " the uppermost of the steps ascending to the church " at S. Silvestro in Capite[3]. In the eighth century the door lintel of the diaconia of S. Maria in Via Lata was approximately 2.50 m. below the modern street; on the other hand, the original pavement of S. Silvestro in Capite was only 0.90 to 1.00 m. below the present nave and street level. Since the top of the steps mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* would have been 1.40 to 1.50 m. below this level, the steps could not have ascended to the church itself, but only to an intermediate level somewhere between the nave and the travertine pavement of the Roman enclosures which lie buried 4.00 m. below Piazza S. Silvestro[4]. Such an intermediate level is found in the stretch of marble pavement which was seen in front of the forecourt at a depth of 2.40 m., that is, 1.60 m. above the classical travertine pavement and exactly at the level of the door lintel at S. Maria in Via Lata. Having a width of 3.20 m., the marble pavement could have belonged to a porch preceding the forecourt of the church, or — if it lay at some distance

[1] Tosca, in Gaynor-Tosca, p. 80, quotes a note in the Archivio di Stato (Camerlengato, part. II, Antichità e Belle Arti, 3473) mentioning two columns; but we do not know if one of these was the one uncovered recently in the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist.

[2] Serafini, *Torri campanarie*, p. 216 f.

[3] See above, digs, 856, 860; also Vol. III, p. 76 f.

[4] See above, p. 152, and 153, note 1.



(Rome, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Mappe, 86, no. 531)

Fig. 139. S. Silvestro in Capite. Francesco da Volterra, Project for remodeling of church and atrium, 1591

from the forecourt façade — to a landing[1]. The steps ascending from the Roman travertine pavement to the porch or landing would have numbered ten or eleven; another nine or ten steps would have continued up to the atrium and church.

The church that existed before Francesco da Volterra's rebuilding is more easily envisaged. The evidence consists of a few remarks by Fra Mariano and Ugonio, Fra Santi's woodcut, the plan of the project submitted by Francesco da Volterra (fig. 139), and a survey with measurements made by Tanghero in 1518 in connection with the project for a new high altar to be designed by Michelangelo[2]. However, none of these sources contributes much to our knowledge of the original structure, and the majority of features noted would appear to date from the high and late Middle Ages. The alternating piers and columns which Tanghero shows in the left hand nave arcade — trabeation and alternation of supports being mutually exclusive — find their counterpart in twelfth and thirteenth century building practice in Rome, as in the upper church of S. Clemente, the early twelfth century Quattro Coronati, and the twelfth century remodeling of S. Vitale[3]. A similar date is indicated by the possible conversion of the north bays of the left hand aisle into a low transept, as is suggested by the wide space between the last pier of the arcade and the end wall of the church.

[1] Lanciani, *op. cit.*, 1894, p. 285 f.
[2] Florence, Casa Buonarroti, nos. 114 A, 122 A; see above, dig. 1518-1520, and Toesca, in Gaynor-Toesca, p. 37 ff. and fig. 5.
[3] See above, Vol. I, pp. 121, 131; above, p. 30 f.; and below, pp. 322, 328.

The deep rectangular chancel is common in the architecture of the mendicant orders in Italy. Finally the three chapels which occupied the area of the right hand aisle in 1518 are securely dated, succeeding each other from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century[1]. The Chapel of the Baptist at the south end of the left hand aisle might date from the same period, but this remains in doubt. Equally doubtful is the date when the Chapel of the Sacred Heart and the adjoining staircase were walled off from the church, as they appear on the plan of 1518.

The only elements on Tanghero's plan which probably go back to the first church are the perimeter walls, except, of course, those of the chancel. The proportions of length and width as given by Tanghero coincide with the plan of the foundation walls exposed in 1908 in the open confessio and in 1962 below the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. The differences in thickness between rising and foundation walls has to be taken into account: the width of the nave on the plan is 10.70 m. (48½ *palmi*), as against 9.60 m. between the foundation walls; the length, including the thickness of the façade, is 33.51 m. (15 *canne*) as against 34 m.; the right hand aisle foundations are 4.90 m. (22 *palmi*) as against 4.20 m. It is probable that the open area of the atrium, as it appears on Tanghero's plan and as it still exists, goes back to the first church; presumably it was enveloped by the colonnades of a quadriporticus. Indeed, until the rebuilding of the entire church in 1588 to 1596, a colonnaded narthex extended in front of the nave. Its four columns carried an arcade, shown on Dupérac's map (fig. 131), and its left hand end pier projected from the east wall of the campanile; but Ugonio saw the narthex already rebuilt[2]. Thus the narthex as surveyed by Tanghero was either contemporary with or later than the campanile, which was built about 1200; but in plan this medieval atrium may well have copied an earlier one, situated at a level about 1.40 m. lower.

The date of the high altar noted on Tanghero's plan of 1518 remains doubtful. Situated in the chancel and roughly 1.40 m. above the floor level, it apparently rose above a confessio at nave level. A canopy carried by four porphyry columns surmounted the altar[3]. Since both a confessio and a canopy are mentioned in the biography of Leo III, it is tempting to view this altar as the one erected by the builders of the first church. On the other hand, the approaches to the high altar and its confessio are suggestive of high medieval rather than early medieval custom. Two flights of nine steps broken by a landing ascended from the nave to the altar site; a passage at nave level, between the two flights, opened an approach to the *fenestella* of the confessio[4]. The arrangement is known in Rome, from the high altar of St. Peter's in the late sixth to that of S. Giorgio in Velabro in the twelfth or thirteenth century[5]. To us it seems likely, although not certain, that the altar which existed in S. Silvestro was erected during the high Middle Ages rather than the eighth century. However, assuming it was medieval, it is still not certain if the altar was the one consecrated in 1123 or a thirteenth century replacement[6]. In the thirteenth century S. Silvestro apparently received a set of cosmatesque furniture which survived until the time of Francesco da Volterra, and in part possibly until today. In the middle of the nave stood "*un antico pulpito di pietra di varie figure e lavori adornato*"[7]. Presumably it was this pulpit "*dove si diceva l'evangelio*" which in 1596 was dismantled[8] and acquired by Cardinal Baronio for his title church, SS. Nereo ed

[1] Toesca, in Gaynor-Toesca, pp. 40 f. and 60 f., n. 9 and 10.
[2] Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 246: "*Ha il portico dinanzi, modernamente rifatto*".
[3] Fra Mariano, *op. cit.*, p. 216, saw the four columns in 1517 "*ante altare maius*".
[4] Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 246v; "*Tra i gradi per i quali si ascende all'altar maggiore è la Confessione*". See also Toesca, in Gaynor-Toesca, p. 27, and the references to a "*catecuma*" below the altar, cited *ibid.*, p. 48.
[5] See above, Vol. I, p. 250; and Muñoz, *Il restauro della basilica di S. Giorgio del Velabro*, Rome, 1926, p. 38 ff.
[6] See above, dig. 1123.
[7] Ugonio, *Stationi*, *loc. cit.*
[8] Gaynor-Toesca, p. 64, n. 27, quoting the mason's receipt (Archivio di Stato, Misc. Corvisieri, 208/11, Nov. 9, 1596).

Achilleo [1]. It has usually been identified with the octagonal pulpit in that church; but this is evidently of sixteenth century date, and cannot be the "*pulpito con un legile di pietre mischie*" or with "*varie figure e lavori adornato*" which Giacchetti and Ugonio describe. The medieval ambo, instead of being used at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, probably went to S. Cesareo in Via Appia, which was refurnished under Baronio's supervision in 1600 [2]. There it still stands, though recomposed and with other fragments inserted. Given the close resemblance between this pulpit and other pieces of cosmatesque furniture used at both SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo, it seems possible that some of these *disiecta membra* likewise came originally from S. Silvestro in Capite.

Nothing can be established concerning the form or exact location of the oratory "on the upper floor of the monastery" to which the church belonged and where, at the time of the foundation, were deposited the relics of Saints Stephen and Sylvester.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The *Liber Pontificalis* records that Paul I (758-762) established in his own house a monastery dedicated to Saint Stephen and the Blessed Sylvester, and a bull of Paul I dated July 4, 761, states that the monastery was founded "in the house which I [Paul] inherited from my parents and where I was brought up". In the biography, the compiler of the *L.P.* adds that the pope built a church within the convent, decorated it with marble, mosaics, an altar canopy and furnishings of gold and silver, and deposited in it "numberless relics of saints brought from the ruined catacombs". But he fails to reveal the name of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. On the other hand, the writer expressly reports that the pope also built an oratory on the upper walls (or floors) of the monastery as a resting place for the relics of the patron saints of the monastery, Saints Stephen and Sylvester [3]. Throughout the pontificate of Stephen III (768-772) and Leo III (795-816) events take place in, and gifts are made to, the monastery of Saint Sylvester or Saints Stephen and Sylvester and to both the *oratorium* and the *basilica maior*. Beginning with the pontificate of Gregory IV (827-844), donations to the oratory cease while those to the church continue. But until after the middle of the ninth century no *patrocinium* is listed for the church.

On the other hand, an inscription tablet of eighth century date, preserved in the narthex of the present church, lists the festival of the Pope Saint Dionysius among those of numerous male saints whose relics were housed in the church, while a second tablet lists the festivals of the female saints [4]. Indeed, after the middle of the ninth century, Saint Dionysius appears as the patron saint of the church (not the oratory) within the monastery of Saint Sylvester. In 856 and 860 the flood of the Tiber penetrates the "*monasterium* [or *ecclesiam*] *sancti Silvestri*" and covers the steps, except the last, ascending "*in basilica* [or *basilicam*] *beati Dionisii*" [5]. The wording "*ecclesia*" instead of "*monasterium beati Silvestri*" in the biography of Benedict III has led to the hypothesis that the steps in question led from the church to the oratory, the former being dedicated to Saint Sylvester, the latter to Saint Dionysius; but the term "*ecclesia*" in the passage under discussion is evidently a *lapsus calami* of the compiler. All documents clearly place the oratory under the patronage of Saint Sylvester

[1] Giacchetti, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[2] Matthiae, *S. Cesareo 'de Appia'*, Rome, 1955, pp. 25 ff., 35 ff., and pls. 18 ff. Matthiae assumes that the furniture at S. Cesareo came from the Lateran basilica, and for part of it this may be the case. See also above, Vol. III, p. 141 f.; and Krautheimer, "A Christian Triumph in 1597", *Essays on Art and Architecture in Honor of Rudolf Wittkower*, II, London, 1967, p. 174 ff.

[3] See above, dig. 761.

[4] Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 10.

[5] See above, digs. 858 and 860; for the variant "*basilicam*", see *L. P.*, II, p. 153, n. 2.

(and sometimes, of Saint Stephen), while beginning with the pontificate of Benedict III, the large church bears the name of Saint Dionysius. Nicholas I (858-867) is elected pope "*in basilica beati Dionisii confessoris atque pontificis*", and he donates a set of altar curtains "*in monasterio sancti Stephani et Silvestri ... in aecclesia maiore qui vocatur Sancti Dionisii*" [1]. The wording does not leave the identity of the patron saint in doubt: he is the Pope Dionysius (259-268) whose remains, until transferred by Paul I, had been resting in the catacomb of S. Callisto on the Via Appia [2]. The identification of the titular saint with Saint Denis of Paris, that is, Dionysius the Areopagite, was first hinted at by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis about 835, with the added implication that the real founder of church and monastery was not Paul I, but his brother and predecessor Stephen II. The hints crystallized into a tradition, recorded about the year 1000 by Benedict of Soracte, according to which a church dedicated to Saint Denis of Paris and his companions Eleutherius and Rusticus was founded by Stephen II "*iuxta Via Flaminea ... non longe ab Augusto iuxta Formas*" [3]. For a long time scholarly opinion accepted this tradition and identified Stephen as the founder and Saint Denis of Paris as the patron saint of S. Silvestro in Capite. The visit of Stephen to Pepin the Short and his stay in Paris and St. Denis, used already by Hilduin as evidence, seemed to corroborate the thesis [4]. However, recent research has proved conclusively that the entire thesis rests on nothing more solid than Hilduin's imagination [5]. The shift of the patron saint of the church from Pope Dionysius to Saint Sylvester, originally the patron of the monastery, seems not to have taken place before the high Middle Ages [6]. The surname *de Capite* — first seen in a document of 1194 — refers to the skull of Saint John the Baptist, supposedly taken from Costantinople and brought to the monastery in the pontificate of Innocent II, 1130-1143 [7].

The foundation walls in the open confessio and beneath the southeast corner of the building seem to belong to the church built by Paul I. The technique of making foundations with tufa blocks from the Servian wall was widespread in Rome under the Carolingian popes, from Hadrian I until after the middle of the ninth century, but the practice seems to have started before; S. Angelo in Pescheria is an early example dating from 752 or 772 [8]. S. Silvestro, laid out between 752 and 762, is a close parallel. Its plan, though known only in outline, seems to anticipate a common type of Carolingian church in Rome: a sizable nave with aisles, presumably separated by colonnades.

The remodeling of the church during the high Middle Ages appears to have taken place in a number of successive building campaigns; the rebuilding of the high altar and its reconstruction in 1123, accompanied presumably by the refurnishing of the sanctuary; construction of the campanile west of the narthex, under Innocent III and, possibly, a new cosmatesque pavement in one chapel; finally, the changes undertaken by the nuns of Saint Clare after 1285, which included building the deep chancel and, from 1290 to 1380, converting the right hand aisle into a row of chapels. The building of the left hand nave colonnade with alternating supports and the replace-

[1] See above, dig. 858-867.

[2] *Depositio episcoporum* of 354: "*VI Kal. ianuar. Dionisi in Callisti*" (Lietzmann, *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* [Kleine Texte, 2] Bonn, 1911, p. 2). See Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 118 f.

[3] Federici, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 219; Hülsen, *Chiese*, p. 466.

[4] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 317 f.; Federici, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 213 ff.; Buchner, *Das Vizepapsttum des Abtes von Saint-Denis* (*Quellenfälschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, II), Paderborn, 1928, p. 35 ff.

[5] Loenertz, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.* See also Ferrari, *loc. cit.* The bull of 844, attributed to Sergius II and listing the monastery as dedicated to Saints Sylvester, Stephen and Dionysius, is apparently spurious, both in wording and content, Federici, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 263, and Kehr, *It. Pont.* I, p. 81 f. to the contrary; see above, dig. 844 (?).

[7] See above, Vol. I, p. 64 ff., esp. 68 ff.

[8] Huelsen, *Chiese*, p. 466 f., referring to Federici, *op. cit.*, 1899.

ment of the end portion of that aisle by a dwarf transept wing may well be linked to the work undertaken in 1123.

The later remodelings of the church, in particular that of 1588 to 1596 which created the present barrel-vaulted nave, the flanking chapels, and the transept including the domed crossing, have been described in detail and well documented by Ilaria Toesca.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The few surviving features of the eighth century church allow us to do no more than outline the plan, and this shows no characteristic worthy of special note. The importance of the finds lies in the fact that they provide a well-dated early example of the building technique which employs blocks pilfered from the Servian city wall for foundations, the technique which subsequently became typical for Carolingian church construction in Rome.

S. SISTO VECCHIO

(*R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett*)

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1588 Fra Santi, View of façade and campanile, woodcut; *Cose maraviglose*, c. 66 (our fig. 149).

1593 Tempesta, Bird's-eye view from west, showing apse, church, campanile and convent, woodcut; *Urbis Romae Prospectus* (ed. Schück, Stockholm, 1915; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 267; republished map of 1606, ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932).

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1753 Vasi, View of façade and courtyard, engraving; *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, III, Rome, 1753, pl. 58.

C. DATES

399—401[2] Pope Anastasius builds or founds a basilica: "*fecit ... basilicam quae dicitur ... Crescentiana in regione II, via Mamurtini, in urbe Roma*" (*L. P.*, I, p. 218). Based on the appearance among the signatures of the synod of 499 of a homonymous titulus, its disappearance in 595, and the appearance instead, of the "*titulus sancti Sixti*", the *basilica Crescentiana* has been identified with S. Sisto Vecchio (Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 23 ff.). While this identification is likely, it requires further proof (see below, p. 174 f.).

499 The presbyters Bonus, Domninus and Vincemalus "*tituli Crescentianae*" sign the decisions of the synod held that year (*M.G.H., Auct. ant.*, XII, pp. 412, 414).

591 A Roman lawyer on his deathbed foretells his burial "*... per viam Appiam ad beati Xysti Ecclesiam se esse processurum ...*" (Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum*, IV, 26; Migne, *P.L.*, 77, col. 360); but the passage could refer either to S. Sisto Vecchio or to the cemeterial church of Pope Sixtus II at S. Callisto[3].

595 The minutes of the synod held that year are signed by the presbyter Felix "*tituli sancti Sixti*" (*M.H.G., Epistolae*, I, p. 367).

600 Gregory the Great refers in a letter (XI, 15) to "*Bonifacius presbyter tituli sancti Xisti*" (*ibid.*, II, p. 275).

721[4] Johannes, presbyter "*tituli Sancti Sixti*" signs the protocol of the synod of that year (Mansi, *Acta Conciliorum*, III, Paris, 1714, col. 1867).

772—795 Hadrian I restores the church "*tituli sancti Sixti ... et basilicae Adriani a novo ... renovavit aedes*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 507 f.).

end VIII century The Einsiedeln itinerary notes the church as "*xystus*" and "*ad scm syxtum*" (Lanciani, *Itin. Einsidlense*, cols. 440, 444).

802—806 Prior to 806, Leo III donates "*in titulo beati Xisti*" a textile, and in 806 "*in ecclesia beati Xisti martyris atque pontificis*" two silver crowns (*L.P.*, II, pp. 12, 20)[5].

827—844 Gregory IV donates a purple textile "*habentem storia Danihelis ... in ecclesia beati Xisti martyris atque pontificis*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 77).

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[1] The orientation of church and forecourt on this map is perpendicular to the actual orientation.

[2] Marucchi, "Di alcune iscrizioni recentemente trovate o ricomposte nella basilica di S. Petronilla e dei SS. Nereo ed Achilleo sulla Via Ardeatina", *N.B.A.C.* 5 (1899), p. 24 ff. and Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 25, suggest a reading, "*tituli Crescentianae*", in the text of an epitaph, dated 395, in the Domitilla catacomb; but the reading is mistaken (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, n. s., III, ed. Ferrua, Vatican City, 1956 p. 240 f., no. 8161).

[3] The exact year of this event, 591, was established by Cecchelli (Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, p. 1452). Beginning with Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 168, the passage has generally been taken as referring to S. Sisto Vecchio; but Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 23, has linked it to the cemeterial basilica of S. Sisto, and we think he is right.

[4] Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 635, erroneously speaks of references to the church under Gregory II and Paul I as appearing in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

[5] The dating is that suggested by Hülsen, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922) p. 109.

847—855 The "*monasterium Corsarum*" is referred to as being situated "*iuxta basilica beati Xisti martyris atque pontificis ...*", (*L.P.*, II, p. 112; see also Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 96).

IX cent. or later Relics of several third century popes, including Sixtus II, are transferred to the church; an undated inscription referring to the event is apparently now lost (Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 330); another inscription, also lost, but once "*in una pietra assai antica ... nell'entrata vecchia di questa chiesa*", listed other relics then below the high altar (Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 171v; see also Suarez, *Inscriptiones Variae*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 3084 [formerly Barb. XXXVIII. 100], f. 172: "*In indice reliquarum qui incisus lapide antiquo character ...*").

1198—1216 Innocent III restores "*ecclesiam sancti Sixti*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 452; *M.G.H., SS.*, XXII, pp. 362, 437; XXIV, p. 135).

1219 Honorius III removes the church of S. Sisto from the possession of the monks of Sempingham near Norwich and transfers it to Saint Dominic and his order (*Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. Pressuti, Rome, 1888, I, nos. 1563, 2283, 2303; Laurent, *Monumenta historica ... Dominici*, Paris, 1933, p. 124 f.).

1220—1221 The Dominican nuns take over church, monastery and adjoining property, and are further endowed by Honorius III (*Regesta Honorii*, *op. cit.*, I, no. 3285; Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 157 f.); the Dominican brethren are moved to S. Sabina (*Regesta Honorii*, *op. cit.*, II, no. 4024).

1222 A monastery is built; inscription on gate, now lost: "*Anno MCCXXII Pontif dni Honorii Papae III. anno VI. m. aug.*" (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, X, p. 539).

1471—1484 Sixtus IV and Cardinal Pedro Ferrici y Comentano, title holder 1476 to 1478, remodel the church. The extent of the work is not given by the documentary evidence, which consists of an inscription, "PETRI.TT. S. SIXTI. CARD. TIRASONENSIS. MCCCCLXXVIII", with the cardinal's arms, now on the door of the south wing but not *in situ* (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, X, p. 540; Urban, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 273) and of the arms of Sixtus IV, now lost, but mentioned by Vasari: "*1475 ... fece [i.e., Baccio Pontelli] molte chiesette per Roma che si conoscono all'arme di papa Sisto; ed in particolare ... San Sisto* (Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, II, p. 653; Urban, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 273)[1].

1582 Filippo Buoncompagni, title cardinal 1572 to 1586, restores the church: "... AEDES SPLENDIDIORE CULTU RESTAURATAE MDLXXXII" (inscription from a medal; Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 338). He lays out a piazza in front, rebuilds the façade, installs a new ceiling over the nave and redecorates the present apse and chancel: "*... fattovi spianare e far piazza dinanzi ... vi fabricò con bel disegno la facciata di Travertini ... fece un bel soffitto intagliato, repoli i muri, assettò gli altari e dinanzi l'Altar maggiore accomodo i gradi. Esso altare ... ha dietro il luogo della Tribuna però fatto più presto a similitudine di Capella dove la parte di sopra è tutta a stucchi messi a oro ...*" (Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 171; see also Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 769).

1619—1638 Convent buildings are repaired and inscriptions made (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, X, p. 541 f.).

1727 The weakening structure is reinforced, apparently by lining the walls with a new inside facing, and redecorated and given new altars designed by Filippo Raguzzini: "ECCLESIAM HANC ... VETUSTATE IAM DILABENTEM EX INTEGRO SUFFULTAM FORMAEQUE ... VENUSTAEQUE RESTITUTAM... ANNO DOM. MDCCXXVII ... SACRAVIT BENEDICTUS PP XIII ORD. PRAED ..." (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, p. 542); see also "*rinovata ... con disegno del Cav. Raussino*" (Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture*, p. 72).

1865 Through the efforts of Fr. Joseph Mullooly the church is repaired and redecorated (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, X, p. 546).

1936—1938 The remains of the original basilica are uncovered by Guglielmo Palombi, including the arcades hidden within the present side walls, the apse and fragments of late medieval murals (Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Bianchi, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Ronchi, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.); a new ceiling is installed bearing the arms of Pius XI and of Cardinal Adolphe Liénart.

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[1] For the archeological evidence of this remodeling, see below, p. 175 f.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Sisto Vecchio stands beside the Passeggiata Archeologica, directly across the Via Appia from SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and not far from S. Cesareo in Via Appia. Its axis is parallel to the ancient roadway and its apse therefore points northwest but, for brevity, we will treat it as pointing due west. Originally it was an apsed basilica with aisles. Today only the nave and apse are used, serving as the church of the adjoining Dominican nunnery (pl. X). The site of the right aisle is occupied by the south wing of a sixteenth or seventeenth century cloister, while the left aisle is divided into several chambers of the convent, the largest housing part of a printing press. Within,



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 140. S. Sisto Vecchio. Façade viewed east



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 141. S. Sisto Vecchio. South flank

the walls of the original Early Christian nave are covered by the eighteenth century decoration of the church. A chancel and apse, narrower than the present nave and also narrower than the Early Christian apse, were inserted, apparently in the fifteenth century, into the space formed by the last bay of the original nave and the apse. A Romanesque campanile, about 4 m. square, stands between the north wall of the present church and the vestibule of the main doors, that is, inside the area of the original nave. The cloister in its present form is late, but it seems to replace one built by Honorius III. Surviving elements of this medieval cloister are but few: a short stretch of pavement in the south wing in front of the chapter house, indicating its original level; the layout of the chapter house with groin vaults supported on two columns; and the chapter house façade[1].

On the exterior the church and the adjoining convent buildings show only features of sixteenth and eighteenth century design: in the main façade facing east, the portal dates from Filippo Buoncompagni's cardinalate, 1572 to 1586 (fig. 140); while the articulation by double pilasters and pilaster strips and the quatrefoil windows in the main façade and along the south flank must be attributed to the remodeling directed by Raguzzini in 1727 (fig. 141).

[1] See below, pp. 168, 172 f.

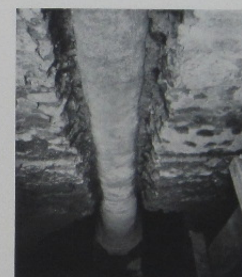
E. ANALYSIS

Although the eighteenth century decorations of the nave interior hide the original fabric, on the exterior some panels of plaster have been removed, on the right side from the cloister walls, and on the left side from the printing press chamber, thus revealing a few of the columns and arcades which originally separated the aisles from the nave. Evidently the ground level has risen considerably since the church was built: the tops of the column shafts rise only 0.80 m. above the present floor level, and the base of the only fully excavated shaft (visible from the



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 143. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column of north colonnade, seen from cloister, with shaft, capital and springing of arches, 1936



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 142. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column of north colonnade seen from cloister, as excavated in 1936

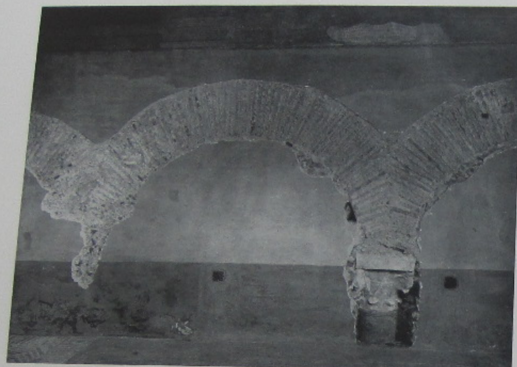


(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 144. S. Sisto Vecchio. Column base and pavement of Early Christian church, excavated in 1936

cloister) rests 3.45 m. below floor level (fig. 142) on a pavement of *cocciapesto* seen in 1936 (fig. 144). The column shafts are plain grey granite, unfluted and around 3,50 m. high. They are surmounted by simple composite capitals of grey marble with full acanthus leaves, volutes and abaci. While leaves and volutes are blocked out without sculptured detail, the chalice is set off from the abacus by a doubled strip and the volumes are surmounted by curved ridges[1] (fig. 143). The cap-

[1] The description is based on the observations of Mr. John Herrimann, who is preparing a doctoral dissertation (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) on "Capitals with full leaves of the fourth and fifth centuries in Roma and Ostia".



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 145. S. Sisto Vecchio. Arches of north arcade as seen from cloister during excavations in 1936

itals are uniform in pattern but range in height from 0.39 to 0.50 m. Above each capital rests a plain rectangular marble pulvin from which spring the archivolts of the nave arcades, the pulvins being from 0.15 to 0.19 m. high. The distances between the columns from center to center average 3.12 m. The vault in the rear of the chapter house rests on two columns of the same set [1]. In addition to providing a good view of the shafts in their full height, 3,49 m. and 3.52 m., and of the capitals, this pair, like the column in fig. 142, shows attic bases. The capitals are 0.42 and 0.45 m. high; the bases, 0.18 and 0.14 m. respectively. These differences in height may indicate that shafts, capitals and bases are spoils, while the pulvins were adjusted to bring the springing of the arches to the same level, 4.27 m.

The archivolts are constructed of bipedals varying in length from 0.57 to 0.62 m. and set with little attention to radiality; the lowest voussoirs are steeply tilted with the help of one or two small, horizontally set bricks (fig. 145). As the imposts are only 0.50 m. square, the lowest voussoirs in every arch are considerably less than half the full bipedal size. The mortar joints between the voussoir bricks are carefully troweled and occasionally worked to a convex, prismsh aped surface. The horizontal brick coursing in the spandrels is executed with thick mortar beds worked

[1] Dr. Carlo Bertelli was good enough to point them out to us.

to a smooth face a little behind the brick face; the modulus is exactly 5 courses per R. ft. The mortar beds range from 25 to 40 mm. with an average of 31 mm. and thus approximately equal the bricks in thickness.

Four columns with portions of eleven archivolts have been uncovered in the north colonnade (pl. X; fig. 15) and are visible from the cloister. In addition, a fragment of the westernmost end pier of the same colonnade is exposed at the southwest corner of the sacristy, that is, to the



(Photo: Hermann)

Fig. 146. S. Sisto Vecchio. Capital, North flank

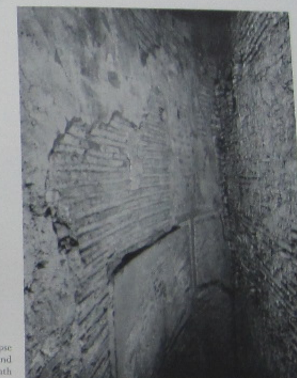


Fig. 147. S. Sisto Vecchio. Early Christian apse showing masonry and (background) left hand jamb of apse window, and (right edge) fifteenth century apse wall

(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

right of the present high altar (fig. 116). The end pier is of brick with the same characteristics as noted in the spandrels. Assuming the Romanesque campanile to occupy the east bay of the original colonnade, we surmise from these surviving elements that originally there must have been thirteen arches in the north nave arcade.

The portion of the south colonnade which has been exposed in the wall of the printing room includes two surviving capitals and the remains of six archivolts, all very much like the ones noted on the north side of the nave. Presumably both arcades supported clerestorey walls; it may be conjectured that the original walls probably survive on each side of the present church, embedded in the upper rooms of the convent and at present not visible. The removal of plaster in these upper rooms would probably reveal the outlines of the original clerestorey windows, but for the time being these remain hidden.

At the west end of the church, narrow doorways in the lateral walls on either side of the high altar give access to two small chambers used to store altar furniture. The chamber to the right has no special features, but the one on the left includes the remains of the terminal archivolt of the

south nave arcade, the colonnade end pier and a large part of the original apse (fig. 147). In addition, the blocking of the south arcade and the masonry of the smaller inserted apse and forechoir are exposed. The blocking consists of good brickwork, obviously medieval, and contains the jambs of a small window which in turn was blocked at a later time. The masonry of the inserted apse and its forechoir, on the other hand, is rough and composed of brick fragments and chunks of stone in a manner characteristic of fifteenth century construction in Rome (fig. 147, right edge). The end pier of the original nave arcade projects 0.90 m. from the chord of the original apse. At this point there is an offset in the wall face, 0.155 m. wide and hence indicating an apse width only 0.31 m. narrower than the nave. The height of the apse cannot be measured precisely because of the narrowness of the chamber, but from a count of brick courses it is estimated at roughly 10.70 meters. No setback has been provided for the springing of a vault in the apse wall, and it is unlikely that the apse carried a vault of rubble or brick. The brickwork of the apse is perfectly integral with the brickwork of the end pier and the spandrel above the archivolt. The brickwork of the concave wall is interrupted 2.80 m. from the apse front by the vertical jamb of an original window opening, just visible at the point where the fifteenth century sanctuary side wall impinges on the earlier masonry (fig. 147, far back). Plaster revetment conceals the precise level of the window sill, but it appears to lie about 3 m. above the pavement of the present church or 6.50 m. above the original floor level.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 148. S. Sisto Vecchio. Outer wall of north aisle as excavated in 1936

Externally, the apse wall is partly hidden by a thick reinforcement of medieval brickwork. The brickwork is identical with the masonry used in blocking the last arch of the left arcade, and it envelops the entire southwest sector of the Early Christian apse and strengthens it with an escarpment of polygonal plan. An arch of the same style of brickwork continues west in the direction of the original nave arcade and provides, to the north, a setback for a floor inside the triangular space between arch and apse, and to the south, support for the barrel vault of a long narrow corridor running east toward the present printing chamber. The courtyard behind the church affords a view of both the polygonal wall of the medieval addition and what little remains of the original apse. The center sector of the latter area was entirely rebuilt in 1939, including the jambs and arch of a window, but we do not know if these repeat original features. The presence of an ancient window opening in the diagonal southwest sector of the apse wall, visible also from outside, leaves little doubt that the apse was formerly lit by windows, but their number — whether two or three — remains undetermined.

In 1959, while repairs were being executed in a passage beside the south colonnade that runs west from the printing room and follows the exterior of the apse wall, a fragment of *opus listatum* wall face was revealed close to the place where the westernmost shaft of the south colonnade should stand, although no shaft has been discovered here[1]. The *listatum* section faces east — that is

[1] In 1969, this wall had been plastered over so as to be no longer discernible.

to say, it stands at right angles to the colonnade — and it rises 0.90 m. above the present floor level, or 4.35 m. above the original floor. The visible portion of wall extends only 0.50 m. from north to south, after which the passage breaks it. The *listatum* is well built with neatly executed mortar joints and beds and it seems, by its texture, to date from the Early Christian period. Hence it appears that a high cross wall divided the last bay of the south aisle from the rest of the aisle. It presumably defined a small side room, such as that noted at S. Lorenzo in Lucina[1]. Although the partition wall is built of *opus listatum* while the rest of the church is, as far as we know, of brick, this does not necessarily mean that the cross wall is of later date. These materials often occur contemporaneously in the same structure, brick being generally used where strength is required and *listatum* being considered adequate in the upper parts of buildings and in nonstructural partition walls such as the wall in question. The upper walls of S. Lorenzo in Lucina are among the many examples of this[2].

A photograph, taken in 1936 and identified as " masonry of the right aisle ", (fig. 147) shows a stretch of brickwork with regular coursing and thus possibly with the same features as noted in the apse and the nave arcades. The location of the find can no longer be ascertained, but it may have been in the courtyard inside the cloister[3].

F. RECONSTRUCTION

1. The early Christian church

No trace of Roman structures has survived on the site of the present church and its predecessors. The elements preserved in the walls of the present building make it possible to reconstruct both the original Early Christian church and its subsequent remodelings. The Early Christian church of S. Sisto Vecchio was a basilica of the type standard in Rome during the later fourth and fifth centuries. Its nave, 40 R. ft. wide, was flanked by rows of uniform granite columns with marble composite capitals and simple pulvins which supported brick arcades. Twelve columns and thirteen arches supported the nave walls on either side, each arch spanning 10½ R. ft. between column centers. Outside the arcades extended the aisles, one on either side. No doubt the arcades supported clerestorey walls with windows. The length of the nave cannot be established definitely since only one of the end piers has been found, and the arcades' eastern point of termination is unknown. But in all likelihood the location of the present façade coincides with the original one, given both the position of the Romanesque campanile inside the original nave and presumably adjoining its façade, and the frequency of Early Christian basilicas with thirteen bay arcades in Rome. Hence the nave was at least 140 R. ft. long and possibly slightly longer. Its height, ca. 50 R. ft., can be postulated from two elements: the present height of the apse above ground, ca. 10.70 meters (roughly 36 R. ft.), and the difference in level between the present and the original pavement, 3.45 m. (12 R. ft.). But the nave may well have been a few feet higher than the apse; possibly it was 55 or even 60 R. ft. high.

The apse, at the west end of the nave, was only 1 R. ft. narrower than the nave. Its wall, only 2 R. ft. thick, but almost 50 R. ft. high, was pierced by two or three windows. An apse of these proportions can hardly have supported a vault. Indeed, no setback for the springing of a

[1] See above, Vol. II, pp. 174, 181.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 173 ff.
[3] See also below, Supplementary Note.



Fig. 149. S. Sisto Vecchio. Fra Santi, Façade of atrium, 1588

half dome nor any trace of a vault is visible. Hence we presume that the apse originally had a conical wooden roof, as is still the case; alternatively, it may have carried a half dome of a very light material, such as cane, hung from the rafters [1].

The last bay adjoining the apse was partitioned off on each side by a cross wall, thus defining a side room which was perhaps used as a sacristy. We do not know if an opening in the cross wall allowed direct communication between the aisle and the end chamber, but there certainly was an archway continuing the line of the nave arcade; through this the chamber communicated with the nave at a point directly in front of the apse.

An atrium may have existed east of the church, but it is known only through Fra Santi's woodcut (fig. 149), which shows the entrance wing of an atrium or forecourt distinct from the church façade. Since the window and door frames in this wing appear to be of fifteenth century design, it was presumably built or remodeled under Sixtus IV. But it is impossible to tell if the Early Christian church had such an atrium or forecourt [2]. In any event, since the medieval level of the church was high above the original one, the atrium must have been rebuilt in the Middle Ages.

2. The Medieval rebuilding

The basilica was thoroughly remodeled in the High Middle Ages; the type of brickwork employed bears witness to this date. The aisles were abandoned, the arcades of the nave were blocked and at least some of the columns were removed, including two which were reused in the chapter house. Thus the church was transformed into a structure without aisles, terminated by the original apse. The apse was reinforced, at least in its southwest sector, while south of it a structure of unknown function and ill-defined plan was added. It contained a short barrel-vaulted corridor leading through a wide arch into a triangular room several stories high and located between the corridor and the old apse. The corridor terminated at a point roughly corresponding to the *opus listatum* cross wall which, since Early Christian times, had cut off the last bay from the rest of the south aisle. The north aisle disappeared almost entirely in the medieval remodeling; only its westernmost bay immediately preceding the springing of the apse survived as a sacristy. The rest of the aisle, reaching from the sacristy to the façade, was occupied by the south wing of the medieval cloister that preceded the present one. Indeed, while the present cloister apparently dates from the late sixteenth or the seventeenth century, it preserves the outline of a medieval cloister as well as some of its salient features: the chapter house off the east wing; the façade of this chapter house; its level, 1.10 m. below the floor of the present cloister; and in a short stretch of pavement in front, the level of the medieval cloister, 0.55 m. below the present one. This level presumably corresponded to that of the medieval church, a full 2.90 m. higher than the Early Christian level. Since the new medieval level placed the apex of the original arcades only 1.75 m. above the floor,

[1] Regarding such cane vaults, see DEICHMANN, "Die Eindeckung von S. Stefano Rotondo", *Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi*, Vatican City, 1951-1955, p. 437 ff.

[2] See however below, p. 176 f., supplementary Note.

the nave could hardly have continued to communicate with the remaining south aisle. Indeed, its arcades were apparently blocked, as was the one still visible near the apse, leaving only small windows in the blocking walls. Rooms of unknown function and shape were presumably inserted into the area of the aisle, corresponding to the modern printing press chamber. The outer wall of the aisle was preserved; it is visible on all sixteenth and seventeenth century maps [1] and no doubt survives to this day under the eighteenth century plaster. At the same time the campanile was built, starting on the new medieval level and occupying the northeast corner of the nave.

All these features are interlinked and thus contemporaneous. The raising of the ground forced church and cloister onto the same level. The building of the cloister necessitated abandoning the north aisle. Reasons of symmetry and, even more strongly, the elevation of the church level forced upon the medieval builders blocking the south arcade as well, and hence giving up the south aisle. As a further consequence, medieval structures could be inserted into the area south of the apse. Finally the loss of both aisles permitted the setting of the campanile into the nave, tradition notwithstanding.

An approximate date for the medieval remodeling is given by the twelfth or thirteenth century brickwork employed in blocking the last arch of the south arcade and in the constructions, including the arch south of the apse. This date is further supported by the Early Gothic features of the chapter house and particularly by the windows and the door frame in its façade. As we shall see, the documentary evidence confirms this date [2].

3. Later remodelings

The only structural change of post-medieval date in the interior of the building was the insertion into the original apse area of a narrower chancel terminated by a polygonal apse. Its masonry as well as the polygonal plan of the apse suggests a period of construction in the fifteenth century.

All later changes, from the fresco decoration of the chancel area to the heavy portal of the façade, concern only the decoration of the building. Its aspect in the middle of the seventeenth century is best described by Bruzio [3]. In his time, the single nave was lit by two windows in the left flank and by single windows in the right flank, in the façade and in the apse. The nave, then, must have been rather dark. The light, open impression it conveys today was produced by the eighteenth century remodeling which created the altars, the stucco decoration and the quatrefoil windows in the flanks and the façade of the nave.

G. CHRONOLOGY

1. The early Christian church

The plan and elevation of the basilica, as they can be reconstructed from the surviving Early Christian elements, leave little doubt as to the approximate time of its origin. The plan, with its thirteen arcades or either side of the nave, and the brickwork of the walls find close parallels in

[1] See the maps of Bufalini, 1551, and Dupérac-Lafréry, 1577, cited above, p. 165 f.; and the 1576 map of Cartaro, in FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 238.

[2] URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 273, erroneously argues (against ZOCCA, *op. cit.*, p. 334 f.) for a fifteenth century date for the remodeling of the church into an aisleless structure.

[3] BRUZIO, *ms. cit.*, f. 135v ff.

buildings such as S. Vitale (dated 401 to 417) [1], S. Sabina (422 to after 432) [2] and S. Lorenzo in Lucina (432 to 440) [3]. The period of construction of S. Sisto can thus be reasonably narrowed down to the first forty years of the fifth century. Since the resemblance to S. Lorenzo in Lucina is particularly striking, including even the lack of an apse vault (or else a vault of light material), the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-440) would seem to offer the most appropriate date. On the other hand, the modulus and pointing of the brickwork suggest at first viewing a somewat different, earlier date, closer to that of church A at S. Pietro in Vincoli, about, 400 AD. [4]. True, the location of the modulus samples may account for the differences: at S. Sisto and S. Pietro in Vincoli they were taken far down in the structure where the brickwork was thus tightly packed, while it was loosely spaced high up in the clerestorey walls of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. But a date about 400, like that of church A at S. Pietro in Vincoli is equally possible and the character of the capitals would appear to support such an early date [5].

It is hard to explain the level of the Early Christian basilica, 1.15 m. below the level of the second century remains found at nearby S. Cesareo diagonally across the street. We can only suggest that the valley in which the churches lie may have a natural slope, descending a meter or so from S. Cesareo and SS. Nereo ad Achilleo to the site of S. Sisto. By the eighth and ninth centuries, when S. Cesareo and SS. Nereo ad Achilleo were rebuilt, 2.65 and 3.15 m. respectively above the original level of S. Sisto, the ground on their side of the road had risen still further [6].

It has been suggested that S. Sisto Vecchio should be identified with the *basilica Crescentiana* which Pope Anastasius I founded or built at the turn of the fourth century in the second region on the Via Mamurtini [7]. The suggestion is based on the following evidence: the "*titulus Crescentianae*" appears among the signatures of the synod of 499, but disappears from among those of the synod of 595; on the other hand a "*titulus sancti Sixti*", previously unknown, makes its appearance unexpectedly during the pontificate of Gregory the Great (590-604), and among the signatures of the synod of 595 [8]. The identification of the two tituli is plausible and certainly the technical features of the Early Christian basilica of S. Sisto Vecchio would not militate against a date about 400. On the other hand, the documentary evidence in support of this date, while plausible, is not conclusive. True, the list of 499 includes at least four names of tituli that are no longer mentioned in the list of 595, while the latter includes four tituli which do not appear in 499. But despite the pioneer work of J. P. Kirsch, the correspondences between the disappearing and newly appearing tituli have never been worked out to perfection; nor is it certain that the new tituli occupied the same sites as the older ones which disappeared after 499. In the case of the *titulus* (or *basilica*) *Crescentianae* and S. Sisto Vecchio respectively, the difficulty is compounded by the topographical indications of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which place the *basilica Crescentiana* "*in regione II Via Mamurtini*" [9]. This passage cannot refer to the ecclesiastical second region, around S. Giorgio in Velabro, but must mean the second region of Augustus. This comprised the Coelian Hill above, but it did not include the site of S. Sisto Vecchio which belongs to the first region, Porta Capena. On the other hand, the Via Mamurtini may well be linked to the

[1] See below, p. 313 ff.
[2] See above, p. 72 ff.
[3] See above, Vol. II, pp. 161, 182 f.
[4] See above, Vol. III, p. 228 ff.
[5] Information kindly supplied by Mr. John Herrmann (see above, p. 167, note 1).
[6] Matthiae, *S. Cesareo de Appia*, Rome, 1955, *passim*; regarding SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, see above, Vol. III, p. 135 ff.
[7] See above, dig. 399-401 and Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 24.
[8] See above, digs. 499, 595, 600.
[9] See above, dig. 399-401.

"*balneum Mamertini*" which appears throughout the regionaries as lying in the first region [1]. This street may have crossed from the first into the second region and thus reached the "*basilica Crescentiana in regione II*". Moreover, the nearness of S. Sisto Vecchio to the border of the second region makes it equally possible that the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* mistakenly attributed it to the second instead of the first region.

The conclusions to be drawn from each of these alternatives are clear. If the *basilica* (or *titulus*) *Crescentianae* of Anastasius really were situated in the first rather than in the second region, it might well be identical with the early fifth century church, the remains of which we have been discussing. This in turn opens two further possibilities: either the elements of construction and planning which we are accustomed to identifying with the pontificate of Sistus III make their appearance as early as about 400; or the reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* which uses the vague term, "*fecit*", means that the *basilica Crescentiana* was founded by Anastasius I [2], but was built later, possibly only under Sixtus III. On the other hand, if the *basilica* (and the *titulus*) *Crescentianae* belong to the second region, one would have to assume a transfer of the titulus to a basilfca possibly built by Sixtus III, though not mentioned in his biography. This basilica, the present church of S. Sisto Vecchio, would have retained the old title of *Crescentianae* until at least 499, then to exchange it for the name of its builder, Sixtus III, in the course of the sixth century, and around 806 for the name of Sixtus II, pope and martyr [3].

Each of these alternatives is fraught with difficulties. The handling of the brickwork and the style of the capitals suggest a date about 400. Thus we suggest that S. Sisto, indeed, is the *basilica Crescentiana*, founded by Anastasius I, between 399 and 401, but erroneously located in the second region by the *Liber Pontificalis*. In plan, then, it would be the first in the group of basilicas which become standard in Rome from S. Vitale to the churches built under Sixtus III. Indeed, given the shortness of Anastasius' pontificate one might toy with the hypothesis that Sixtus III terminated a structure left incomplete by Anastasius. This would explain the resemblance of the timber roofed apse to that of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and the insertion of a side chamber at the end of the south aisle. It would also explain the replacement by 595 of the original title of the church *basilica Crescentiana* by the new name, *Sancti Sixti* — not Sixtus II who becomes linked to it only under the Carolingian popes, but Sixtus III, under whom construction was completed.

2 Later rebuildings

The rebuildings of the church are easily dated. The medieval rebuilding which created the single nave, the cloister to the north, the chapter house, and the campanile inside the nave, must coincide with the documented activity of Innocent III and Honorius III between 1215 and 1222. The remodeling under Sixtus IV, terminated apparently in 1478, presumably comprised the building of the new chancel and the polygonal apse. Certainly the portal of Cardinal Ferrici, now transplanted to the south wing, was then set up either on the façade of the church or on that of the

[1] Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae*, Würzburg, 1870, p. 3; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, I, pp. 90, 165 and 208. The Via Mamurtini obviously cannot have been located either near the Carcer Mamertinus at the foot of the Capitoline Hill or near the "*custodia Mamertini*" on or near the Rupes Tarpeia (Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi agiografici*, IX [Studi e testi, 175], Vatican City, 1953, p. 1 ff.). Nor can it be linked to the "*Vicus Mamertini regione sexta*", where the sixth century *Passio Susannae* places her titulus on the Quirinal (*AA. SS. Augusti*, II, p. 632).
[2] See above, dig. 399-401.
[3] See above, dig. 795-816.

atrium, and the church façade was possibly, the atrium façade certainly, rebuilt (fig. 149). The restoration undertaken by Cardinal Buoncompagni, 1572 to 1586, changed little in the structure of the church but included the building of the present cloister and of the heavy main portal, as well as the decoration of the vaults of the apse and forechoir with frescoes and gilded stucco, and the laying out of a courtyard in front of the church. Finally in the eighteenth century, Raguzzini designed the present altars in the nave and the quatrefoil window frames in the façade and the clerestorey walls.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The church of S. Sisto Vecchio, as originally built, represents to perfection the type of Early Christian basilica that became standard in the Rome in course of the fifth century: long in comparison to its width and thus different from the broader proportions of S. Clemente, resting on thirteen arcades, and terminated by a simple semicircular apse with two or three windows. If built between 399 and 401, as is very likely, it would indeed be the earliest example of the type so far known, preceding S. Vitale, S. Sabina, and S. Lorenzo in Lucina. On the other hand, if completed in the pontificate of Sixtus III, it would coincide with that pope's S. Lorenzo in Lucina, not only in plan and proportions, by then generally accepted, but even in the timber covering of the apse and the provision of a side chamber at the end of the aisle.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Long after teminating the manuscript of this section, we learned in the winter 1968-1969 of the investigation of the church and the excavations of the atrium and the southern aisle wall undertaken by Professor H. Geertman of Groningen University. Professor Geertman's preliminary report has just been published in *Rend. Pont. Accad.* 41 (1968-1969), pp. 219-228; the final report is to follow in 1970. But in a letter, written May 13, 1969, Professor Geertman was good enough to inform me (R.K.) briefly of the results of his investigations and to permit me to publish in this volume as a supplementary note his summary. Moreover, on September 14, 1969, Professor Geertman and his wife kindly accompanied me on a visit to the church and furnished additional explanations. Professor Geertman's letter follows in translation: "...The work was undertaken from the fall of 1967 to the spring of 1968. At a depth of 3.45 m. below the present pavement of cloister and church we found the remains of a basilica, composed of a nave and two aisles, oriented north-northwest. It had an apse and a triple-arcaded entrance (*a trifora*), preceded by a quadriporticus. The apse was unvaulted, the quadriporticus was square and as wide as the church. The interior was lit by three (or two? [R.K.]) windows in the apse, three in the façade and thirteen each to the left and right in the clerestorey walls of the nave.

The total length of the structure (Professor Geertman apparently refers to the joint length of atrium and basilica [R.K.]) was 71.50 m., the width 25.50 m., the height circa 13.15 m.; a heightening of the walls, ca. 3.00 m., dates back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The pavement of the basilica was of *opus sectile*, that of the quadriporticus of a crude irregular mosaic, in part white, in part polychrome. The soffits of the entrance arches, of the façade windows and of the nave arcades were plastered and painted in many-colored stripes.

A number of architectural and decorative elements and a renewed examination of the written sources would lead one to identify the basilica found below S. Sisto Vecchio with the *basilica Crescentiana*, consecrated by Anastasius I (399-401)..."

During our visit in September 1969, Professor Geertman moreover pointed out the traces of the apse window to the right, the outlines of the windows, now uncovered on the façade and in the right hand clerestory, of the triple arch of the façade, of the first arch of the right hand nave arcade and of the end piers projecting from both the right and left hand nave arcades. He also pointed out the blocking of the triple entrance arch, possibly in the early Middle Ages (or as early as the fifth century, as at S. Pietro in Vincoli? [R.K.]), and the lack of bonding between the left hand nave wall and the façade, perhaps as a result of "clockwise construction", as at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura[1].

[1] See above, Vol. II, p. 53.

S. STEFANO DEGLI ABESSINI
(S. STEFANO MAGGIORE)

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)[1]

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Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, 1942, pp. 928, 1453 f.
Ferrari, *Monasteries*, 1957, p. 319 ff.
Urban, " *Kirchenbaukunst* ", p. 217 f.

B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Ancient descriptions.

Campana, *S. Stefano dei Mori dal* 1702 *a tutto il* 1729, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, Miscellanea, Arm. 91-99, LXI (quoted in excerpts by Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 273 ff.)[2].

II. Ancient illustrations.

1551 Bufalini, Sketchy groundplan, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911).

1571—1576 Alfarano, Groundplan, ink and wash; Vatican Library, Archivio Capit. di San Pietro (*op. cit.*, ed. Cerrati p. XXVII and pl. 2; engraved, 1590, *ibid.*, pl. 1)[3].

1576 Cartaro, View from west (unmarked), engraving; Map of Rome (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 243).

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[1] Mr. Eugenio Monti, architect, was good enough to join us in 1968 in surveying the structure and checking on our notes taken in previous years and to make a first survey of the mausolea preserved below the church.

[2] Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 39, note, erroneously gives as location of the ms., Archivio Basilica Vaticana, LXI. Professor Irving Lavin kindly put us on the right track. Silverio Campana, canon of St. Peter's, was rector of S. Stefano from 1705 to 1729; see Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 13, Venice, 1842, p. 47. The manuscript contains *inter alia* the following: cc. 11-13, anonymous draft, *Chiesa di S. Stefano degli Etiopi nella Valle Vaticana*, after 1706; cc. 61-66, *Spese della fabrica*, 1703-1718; cc. 108-152, *Relazione dell'ultima fabrica delle case*, 1718; cc. 153-170, *Misure e stima ... lavori di muro*, 1703-1706, countersigned *Antonio Valeri architetto*.

[3] Regarding the date of the autograph plan, 1571 with corrections until 1576, see Cerrati, in Alfarano, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI ff.

1577 Dupérac-Lafréy, View of church and adjoining buildings from northeast, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma primo di Sisto V*, Rome, 1908)[1].

1589 Van Cleve, View from southwest showing apse, south transept, roof of nave and belfry, painting; present location unknown (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 260)[2].

1593 Tempesta, View from west marked " Santa Marta ", woodcut; Urbis Romae Prospectus (ed. Schück, Stockholm, 1915; edition of 1606, ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Paolo V*, Vatican City, 1932).

1625 Maggi, View from west, woodcut; Maggi-Maupin-Losi, Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1915).

1736—1744 Nolli, Ground plan (short nave without aisles), drawing; Plan of St. Peter's and surroundings (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 384; see also Nolli's map of Rome, engraving, ibid., pl. 413 and *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV*, ed. Ehrle, Vatican City, 1932).

1892—1893 Rohault de Fleury, Ground plan, elevation, reconstruction of plan, and details, all based on survey undertaken by Busiri-Vici 1892-1893, lithographs; *Les Saints de la Messe*, V, Paris, 1897, p. 7 f., pls. 430, 431, 432.

1931—1933 Felici and others, Views and details, photographs taken prior to and during Giovannoni's campaign of restoration; Archivio Fotografico, Musei Vaticani (see also, Giovannoni, 1934, *passim*)[3].

C. DATES

593—594 Gregory I tells of Galla Patricia, a noble widow of his aquaintance, who " *Gathorum ... temporibus* ", i. e. prior to 536, withdrew to a nunnery near St. Peter's " *sese aput Beati Petri apostoli aecclesiam monasterio tradidit* " which still flourished at the time of his writing (Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* ..., IV, 14 [Migne, *P.L.*, 77, 340 f. (as IV, 13)]; *Gregorii Magni Dialogi* [*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 57] ed. Moricca, Rome, 1924, p. 246 ff.). The identity of this unnamed nunnery with the later monastery of S. Stefano Maggiore, while suggested by eighth, ninth and eleventh century sources remains to be proven; see below, digs. 772-795, 795-816, 1073-1074 (Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 322 f.).

732 A monastery of St. Stephen is listed with two others, one dedicated to St. John and Paul, the other to St. Martin, all " *secus basilicam apostoli* ... "; inscription commemorating the synod held under Gregory III (Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 319).

757 A papal bull refers to a house adjoining the monastery of St. Martin, but belonging to the monastery " *S. Stephani cata Galla patricia* " (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, XII, Florence, 1766, [reprint Graz, 1960], col. 552, as quoted by Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 317).

772—795 Hadrian I reforms the monastic congregation " *in monasterio sancti Stephani cata Barbara* [sic] *patricia situm ad beatum Petrum apostolum* "; since the monastery had been badly neglected, " *in magna desidia et neglectus incuria positus erat* ", and did not fulfill its religious obligations, a new abbot " *persona idonea* " was appointed and the congregation ordered to perform, jointly with three other monasteries, the *laudes* at St. Peter's (*L.P.*, I, p. 501; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 320).

795—816 Leo III, probably in 809, rebuilds from its foundations the monastery, " *monasterium sancti ... Stephani qui appellatur cata Galla patricia* ", which had been damaged and in part collapsed from old age, together with its oratory ", *simul cum oratorio firmum iacens fundamentum* " (*L.P.*, II, 28). In the donation list of 806 the monastery, listed as above, receives a small lighting fixture, " *canistrum ex argento pens. lib. II et semis* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 22). However, as early as ca. 802-803 Leo had provided a textile " *in oratorio sancti Stephani a sancto Petro quae appellatur maiorem* " (*L.P*, II, 13); Ferrari, who quotes the former two references (*Monasteries*, p. 320), omits the

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[1] Repeated with minor variations on the maps of Greuter, 1618, (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 291) and De Paoli, 1623, (*ibid.*, pl. 303).

[2] Frutaz, p. 191, reproduced the view from a photograph taken in 1930 at a Christie sale (*ibid*, I, p. 191). A similar painting was shown at Birmingham in 1953 (Waterhouse, " Some notes ... ", *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), p. 306) and still another formerly in Vienna, belongs now to the Lugt Collection (*ibid.*, see also Egger, *Römische Veduten*, I, 46). One of the former two, or possibly still another variant, was seen by me (*R. K.*) about 1960 on the New York art market. Egger suggested correctly that all go back to sketches made by van Cleve in the 1550's.

[3] Some of the photographs published by Giovannoni can no longer be traced, either in the Photograph Archives of the Vatican Museum or at Felici's.

last one for reasons unknown. Regarding the identity of S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia and S. Stefano Maior, see below, dig. 1073-1074 [1].

Prior to 817 Paschal I, as abbot of the monastery "*sancti Stephani primi martyris qui appellatur Maiorem iuxta basilicam beati Petri ...*", reforms the congregation and directs its attention to the care of pilgrims and the lame, "*peregrinis et claudis*", who have come from afar to St. Peter's (*L.P.*, II, p. 52; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 320 f.).

817—824 Paschal I donates to the monastery "*beati Stephani ... qui appellatur Maior, ad Sanctum Petrum ...*" several textiles, including one with representations of the Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul (*L.P.*, II, p. 59).

847—855 The lintel of one of the lamp niches in the crypt of S. Stefano degli Abessini bears the inscription "tem(pore) Domin(i) Leoni(s) Qu(arti)"; the lintel slab shows on its underside a fragmentary inscription "Domini", obviously in second use (Giovannoni, 1934, p. 13 f. and fig. 14) [2].

1053 Leo IX confirms the transfer to the jurisdiction of St. Peter's of the churches of St. John and Paul, St. Martin, St. Stephen maior and St. Stephen minor "*... ecclesias ... Sancti Stephani maioris et Sancti Stephani minoris vestris usibus destinatas ...*" (Schiaparelli, "Le carte antiche dell'Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro", *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patria* 24 [1901] 393 ff., esp. p. 478, no. 18) and in a separate bull addressed to the archpriest and the canons of St. Peter's established "*in monasterio Sancti Stephani maiore ...*", the possessions donated to that monastery by Paschal I, Leo IV, John IX and John XIX (*ibid.*, p. 473, no. 17).

1073—1074 Sale of landholdings by Benedict "*archipresbiter de venerabili monasterio Sancto Stefano maiore qui appellatur cata Galla ...*" (*ibid.*, p. 490 f., no. 26).

1455—1457 In describing the church, Vegio points out that it was formerly a simple oratory, but at his time was enlarged; he also found the monastery in part collapsed and unusable: "*nunc propter humanam iniuriam magna ex parte disiectum prorsusque inhabitatum*" (Vegio, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

1475 Sixtus IV thoroughly repairs, among other churches, the "*ecclesia sancti Stephani in Vaticano ... a fundamentis*" (Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus ... Romae*, 1510, f. 83; see also Idem, ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 10, and Alfarano, *op. cit.*, ed. Cerrati, p. 38: "*... vetustate collapsum Sixtus Papa quartus restauravit ...*"). Sixtus' coat of arms was seen in the nave (Mauro di Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 176) and a lost inscription read, "*In eccl̄ia Indorum Sixtus pp IIII anno iobilei*" (Lanciani, *Storia Scavi*, I, p. 79, quoting *Inscriptiones antiquarum Urbis ecclesiarum e codice manuscripto Farnesiano ...*, Vatican Library, Cod. Regin. 770, f. 21ᵛ). Sixtus also seems to have handed over the church and monastery to a congregation of Abyssinian monks (Alfarano, *op. cit.*, ed. Cerrati, p. 38), perhaps in 1481 (Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Lefevre, "Appunti sull'ospizio di S. Stefano degli Indiani nel Cinquecento", *Studi Romani* 15 [1967] 16 ff., esp. p. 22 f.), and installs in the interior an iconostasis (?) decorated with paintings and inscribed, "*facendovi il tramezzo che ci è con la pittura della S. Trinità, di Stefano con un Frate Dominicano inginnocchione con lettere sotto Etiope che dicono in nostra lingua, Frat' Antonio Abissino*" (Torrigio, *op. cit.*, p. 327; see also Lefevre, *op. cit.*, p. 22). But there is no definite proof that the transfer really took place under Sixtus IV (Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 176 f.). The first references to the presence of Abyssinians occur in 1487, 1492 and 1497 (Lefevre, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 179 f.; see also Mazzochio, *Epigrammata antiqua Urbis*, Rome, 1521, f. 164ᵛ: "*In sancto Stefano de Aegypto ubi sunt Fratres Indi...*").

1523—1534 Clement VII has a pair of wooden doors installed (Torrigio, *op. cit.*, p. 328).

1703—1706 The church and adjoining monastery are remodeled both inside and outside; inscription on façade of church: "clemens xi // ecclesiam hanc leone magno pont. // cum monasterio extrvctam // aethiop. abyssinis concessam // plvries instavratam renovavit // domosq. contiguas et hortvm // fvnditvs restitvit ornavit // a.d. mdccvi" (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VI, p. 311; Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 272; in detail, Campana, *S. Stefano dei Mori...*, as quoted above, p. 178). The architect Antonio Valeri directs the work (Campana, *op. cit.*, c. 21, 169ᵛ): elimination of original apse, and transept; building of short nave, chancel

[1] Regarding the probable dating of the three passages, see Hulsen, "Osservazioni...", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* I (1922-23) p. 107 ff., esp. 110 f.

[2] Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 321 f., cites numerous land sales of ninth and tenth century date involving the monastery "*sancti Stephani a sancto Petro*" or "*sancti Stefani maioris*". We do not include them here, since they neither mention the church nor clarify the identity of S. Stefano Maggiore or S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia.

and rectangular apse followed by sacristy, all in area of old nave building, and of new façade; laying out piazza in front (Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 273 f.; also Panciroli-Posterla-Cecconi, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 383, and Martinelli, *Le magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 21: "*... Clemente XI la fece ... abbellire con l'ornamento d'una vaga facciata, formandovi avanti piazza col guasto di alcune case, che l'imgombravano*").

1716 The façade pediment is raised (Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 275 f., quoting Campana, *op. cit.*).

1892—1893 Busiri-Vici surveys the structure (Rohault de Fleury, *Les Saints de la Messe*, V, Paris, 1897, p. 74, pls. 430, 431, 432).

1931—1933 Under the direction of Gustavo Giovannoni the church is explored and restored (Giovannoni, 1934, p. 27).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

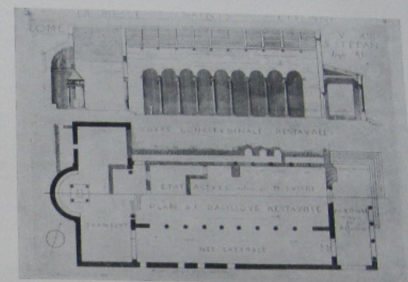
S. Stefano degli Abessini stands roughly 20 m. southwest of the main apse of St. Peter's and hence roughly 76 m. from the apse of the Constantinian basilica. Its axis is at an angle of about 20° to that of Old St. Peter's and thus runs from east-northeast to south-southwest. Today the church presents itself as restored by Giovannoni between 1931 and 1933: it is isolated, rather than framed by the buildings which had adjoined it until then; and it is composed of disparate elements — a Baroque façade and a nave and apsed transept restored to their medieval aspect but deprived of aisles. The façade, surmounted by a broken triangular gable, is flanked by projecting bundles of pilasters and pierced by a single doorway above which is a low rectangular window. Its design and details tally with the date of the remodelings undertaken by Clement XI, 1703-1706 and 1716; the earlier remodeling is documented by an inscription tablet above the door, the later by a contemporary chronicle [1]. However, the frame of the door is much older, as indicated by its rinceaux and cyma decoration of twelfth or thirteenth century character. Five steps descend from the doorway to the interior. Since 1932, the interior has consisted of a nave without aisles, crossed near the middle by a diaphragm arch; a continuous transept opening into the nave through a triumphal arch carried by T-piers and columns; preceding the transept, one bay of the aisles on either side, which communicate with the transept through trabeated openings subdivided by columns; and finally, a semicircular apse. Within the side walls of the nave parts of the original colonnades have been uncovered, backed by outer walls dating from 1931 to 1933. Five columns to the right and two to the left are visible, and those to the right still carry an architrave; but the windows in the clerestory of the nave, as indeed the better part of these upper walls, were freely designed by Giovannoni. Needless to say, the open timber roofs of nave and transept likewise date from 1931 to 1933.

Within the transept, only a short distance from the triumphal arch, Giovannoni set up a transverse chancel screen. To this modern screen he applied fragments of interlace work *cancelli*, found in the church in part by Busiri about 1880, in part during the restoration campaign of 1931 to 1933. Inside the screen, seven steps ascend to an upper level which fills the apse and, in the center area of the transept, carries the altar and the four columns of its canopy. The block of the altar *mensa*, as well as two capitals of the canopy are old, but the composite is Giovannoni's. Below the altar, on the lower transept level, Giovannoni restored a *fenestella confessionis*. This leads into a relic chamber which formed part of the original crypt. The upper parts of the crypt are gone, but the lower parts of its walls, to a height of roughly 60 cm., were found by Giovannoni, preserved below the raised level of the apse and of the center area of the transept, and made accessible by short flights of steps descending north and south from the lower transept level.

Likewise, below the nave and the area of the former aisles, remains of structures different from that of the church were found and enclosed in a basement by Giovannoni.

[1] See above, p. 180 f., digs. 1703-1706 and 1716.

Fig. 150*a*. S. Stefano degli Abessini. Plan and elevation, survey Busiri, 1893



(from Rohault de Fleury)

E. ANALYSIS



(from Rohault de Fleury)

Fig. 150*b*. S. Stefano degli Abessini. Section and details, survey Busiri 1893

The structure of S. Stefano is hard to investigate in its present state. The restoration campaign of 1931 to 1933 did a thorough job: the floor was dropped 1.20 m. from the eighteenth century level to the original one and made accessible by five steps inside the entrance door; large parts of the walls were rebuilt as was the upper level of the chancel which occupies the center of the transept and the apse; windows in the apse and the nave were opened, at times it seems without sufficient evidence; and the entire building was covered, inside and outside, with a thick plaster coat [1]. As a result it is impossible to distinguish original and new parts, or, for that matter, changes in the original structure effected during the Middle Ages or from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the basements opened below the church in 1931 to 1933 and the structures they enclose, are difficult of access because of constant flooding. Under these circumstances it becomes

[1] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 4 and *passim*.

necessary to base the investigation of the church and the antecedent structures to a large degree on the photographs, drawings and descriptions prepared under Giovannoni's direction in connection with his campaign and on a few supplementing notes and photographs taken by me (R.K.) at that time.

Prior to Giovannoni's restoration, the church was flanked on either side by buildings for the use of the clergy attached to S. Stefano. These were erected or redesigned in the early eighteenth century[1]. Behind Valeri's façade, the church itself consisted of a short nave extending only to the diaphragm arch of the original nave; a shallow chancel behind that arch; and a narrow and shallow rectangular apse (figs. 150 a, b). The level of the nave had been raised 1.20 m. above the original one[2]. A sacristy behind the apse filled the rest of the original nave, followed by a courtyard which projected beyond the old triumphal arch in the area of the transept[3]. The aisles are reported to have been "almost entirely rebuilt and separated from the nave to have served as passages and storage rooms"[4]. But this is only true of the south aisle. To the north, according to Busiri's plan and old photographs, the area of the aisle was occupied near the façade by the clergy house, and further west by a garden terrace several meters above the level of the church, except for a narrow vaulted corridor running along the flank of the short nave and leading into the courtyard located behind the sacristy (fig. 150)[5]. Inside this corridor Busiri in 1892-1893 saw the four easternmost columns and the eastern tongue pier of the north arcade of the nave[6]. The wall of the original north aisle had apparently been buried underneath the garden terrace, while that of the left aisle to the south was still visible[7]. On the other hand, the walls of transept and apse, albeit buried 4.65 m. deep in the ground, remained standing to nearly their full original height and formed a courtyard under the open sky[8]. All this is confirmed by Campana, the rector at the time of the rebuilding in 1703-1706[9]. He also recorded what he saw of the older church: nave, transept, and apse; the position of the aisles, the north aisle filled in, excepting the corridor, the south aisle serving the canons of St. Peter's; columns, both fluted and unfluted, walled up on either side of the nave and visible from the corridor; capitals, including four found east of the façade; finally, below the west area of the old nave some vaulted constructions and, fourteen palmi below the pavement of the new sacristy, an ancient pavement, which was believed to be that of the original church[10].

1. The exterior

Only the eighteenth century façade and the walls of transept and apse — the latter heavily restored and thickly plastered — antedate the campaign of 1931 to 1933. In particular, the walls of the nave, including the buttresses along either flank and the windows in the intervening bays, were designed and built by Giovannoni as boundary walls for the parts surviving from the original

[1] Giovannoni, 1934, fig. 3. See Mauro da Leonessa, *op. cit.*, p. 276 f., n. 2, where an inscription is quoted after Campana's manuscript, referring to the building in 1716 of a house for the priest in charge.
[2] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5 and figs. 4, 7, 8; Rohault de Fleury, *Les Saints de la Messe*, pl. 431.
[4] Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185.
[5] Rohault de Fleury, *loc. cit.*
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[7] Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 431, note: "*Muraille antique encore existente*".
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 8 and pl. 431. Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185; and Idem, 1934, p. 5 and figs. 5, 6.
[9] Campana, *op. cit.*, cc. 21 ff.
[10] *Ibid.*, cc. 23v ff.; the last item is described (c. 24) as "*Nel gettare i fondamenti della nuova sagristia si sono trovate ancora alcune concavità fatte a volta e sotto di esse si è riconosciuto il pavimento antico della chiesa quattordici palmi al di sotto... dal piano del pavimento che ha al presente...*". See also below, p. 192.

church. Likewise, the retaining wall which marks the position of the original south aisle wall and the wall of the narrow courtyard which fulfills the same function to the north date from the same campaign. However, the retaining wall to the south in its easternmost part encloses a stretch of the original aisle wall[1].

2. Transept and apse

Old photographs show the original walls of the transept and apse, as they were preserved prior to 1931-1933. The apse, with a diameter of 6.26 m.[2] carried its half dome at a level of 5.45 m. from the original nave floor, and still rose to its full height of 8.60 m. On the other hand, above the apse opening, the west wall of the transept had been cut down into a triangular shape to carry an eigthteenth (?) century tile roof covering the apse and an adjoining structure; an oculus above the apse opening, however, may have belonged to the original transept and has been restored as such (figs. 150b, 151a)[3]. Both the short end walls of the transept had also been cut down to a height of ca. 5.50 m. above the nave floor; the wall to the north served as the enclosure of a small courtyard, the one to the south as that of a small building. The length of the transept from north to south is still the original one, 18.50 m. along its west side and 19.00 m. along its east side, the difference being caused by the slight obliqueness of the south end wall. The depth of the transept correspondingly increases from north to south from 6.50 m. to 6.65 m.[4].

The walls of the apse and transept were heavily restored during Giovannoni's campaign. Nonetheless, still today they show two distinct types of masonry and the difference is confirmed by the photographs taken prior to 1931 and illustrated in Giovannoni's publication[5]. In their lower parts the walls are built of re-used bricks and disparate sizes, laid in irregular, sometimes undulating courses, the technique customary in eighth and ninth century Rome (fig. 154a). The modulus of five courses fluctuates from 30 to 32 cm. The mortar, as observed in 1932, prior to the repainting, was greyish and richly interspersed with brick particles giving it a reddish hue; and the horizontal beds vary in height from 1.5 to 3.3 cm. The same type of masonry continues into the half piers which separate the north and south walls of the transept from the adjoining aisles and from there into the remains of the aisle walls[6]. On the other hand, in the upper portions of the transept and the apse walls, and in a few stretches, obviously repairs, of their lower portions as well, this original brickwork gives way to a different type: the courses are more regular; the modulus of five courses sinks as low as 26 to 28 cm.; the mortarbeds average 2.5 cm.; and the color of the brick ranges from deep red to yellow; in short, it is the type of masonry customary in twelfth and thirteenth century buildings in Rome (fig. 151b). Also, corresponding to high medieval custom, the arch over the apse opening is formed of but a single row of bipedals and the half dome of the apse springs from the cylindrical wall without a cornice intervening. Outside, the apse wall terminates with a cornice carried by small brackets and composed of three superimposed projecting bricks (fig. 151b). It was restored by Giovannoni, based on original traces; but it is obviously, as he states, of medieval — we would say twelfth or thirteenth century — rather than of ninth century design[7]. Re-

[1] See below, p. 189, f.
[2] Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and pl. 431.
[3] Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 432 and p. 8, where he points to the similar oculus above the apse of S. Cecilia.
[4] Busiri (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 431) gives the length of the north wall as measuring only m. 6.27.
[5] Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 6, and above, p. 179 note 3.
[6] The half pier to the south is hidden behind a later (modern?) addition.
[7] Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 8, likewise assigned the cornice to the twelfth or thirteenth century. According to his (or Busiri's) measurements the cornice was m. 6.95 from the original ground level, *ibid.*



(Photo: Felici (?) from Giovannoni, 1934)

Fig. 151a. S. Stefano degli Abessini. Transept, west wall and apse from South, prior to 1930



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 151b. S. Stefano degli Abessini, apse from South

garding the three apse windows, as restored in 1931 to 1933, we remain in serious doubt as to whether or not they originally existed; the photographs taken prior to 1931 (fig. 151a) show no indications in the corresponding places [1]. On the other hand, the windows in the long west wall of the transept did exist prior to 1931-1933 [2] and were restored in their original form. Tall and only 50 cm. wide, they are surmounted by arches composed of short bricks and reminscent of twelfth and thirteenth century rather than earlier building practice in Rome [3]. Finally, the windows in the short end walls of the transept to the north are at a level high above that of the wall sections preserved til 1931; thus they are obviously modern and must be disregarded. In the south end wall, on the other hand, traces of one of the windows were found and served as a starting point for Giovannoni's reconstruction [4]. However, this window too appears to be of high medieval date.

The east wall of the transept, toward the nave and aisles, and its communications with these latter were well preserved on its west face prior to Giovannoni's campaign (fig. 152a) [5]. The opening of the triumphal arch was supported by four elements: the head bars of two T-piers, whose long legs constituted the western end piers of the nave colonnades; and two adjoining columns with Ionic capitals and impost blocks with the bolsters of the capitals facing in toward the arch opening. The piers show a brick technique slightly different from that of the lower walls of apse and transept, in that the modulus of five courses is only 28 to 30 as against 30 to 32 cm. Nonetheless, it has the characteristics of eighth and ninth century work and the tighter packing of the

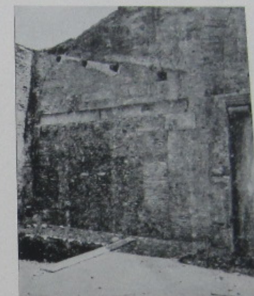
[1] Giovannoni, 1934, fig. 5.

[2] See also Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 432.

[3] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 12, assigns these windows to the original ninth century structure.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, fig. 6.



(Photo: Felici (?), from Giovannoni, 1934)

Fig. 152a. S. Stefano degli Abessini. North transept, East wall from South west, prior to 1930



(Photo: [illegible])

Fig. 152b. S. Stefano degli Abessini. Architrave of South transept

bricks — producing the lower modulus — may be caused by the need to withstand better the thrusts of the triumphal arch and colonnades. The shafts of the columns below the triumphal arch are remarkably thin; the one to the north has a diameter of only 0.48 m., the other of 0.53 m. (fig. 150b). The capitals are simple in design, with plain volutes and bolsters and without decoration on the echinus, and have been assigned a ninth century date [1]; but they obviously are Late Roman spoils. Likewise the impost blocks, which differ from each other in profile, are in second use [2]. The arch itself was composed of two contemporaneous rings of brick voussoirs, each 46 cm. long; the inner ring rested on the column the outer one on the piers. On either side of the arch, the transept led to the aisles through wide double openings. They had been blocked by later brickwork, either medieval of fifteenth century; but they were easily visible prior to 1931, as were the surmounting lintels. Both the north and south lintels are plain on their west faces, toward the transept, but are decorated on their east faces, toward the aisles. The one to the north shows fluting and is clearly the fragment of a column [3]; the one to the south bears a double rinceaux with animals and suggests an eighth or ninth century date (fig. 152b) [4]. The lintels each were composed of two blocks meeting midway and carried at one end by the head bar separating the end wall of the transept and the aisle wall. The midway supports of the openings had disappeared by 1931 (fig. 152a) [5]; they were replaced during the campaign by columns, found in fragments in the excavation, composed of bases, shafts and capitals, all Roman spoils (pl. X).

[1] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 12.

[2] Shaft, capital and impostblock of the south column are shown with measurements by Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 432, who (*ibid.*, p. 8) compares the profile of the impost block with samples in Ravenna. Mr. John Herrmann kindly points out that the capital to the north dates from the fourth or fifth century, while the one to the south is altogether not a capital, but the top of an altar.

[3] See also Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 432.

[4] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*

To the north, three flat arches surmounted by a semicircular arch, all embedded into the masonry, carried the weight of the upper wall (fig. 152a). In the wall to the south only one flat arch is visible, above the north end of the opening and there is no trace of a semicircular relieving arch (fig. 152b). The voussoirs of all these relieving arches are composed of single rows of bricks, 15 cm. long. All these elements were faithfully restored by Giovannoni including the missing columns midway in the openings between transept and aisles.

3. The nave

The nave is 24.90 m. long from the triumphal arch to the façade and 8 m. wide, measured between the column shafts on either side (pl. XI; fig. 153). In its middle it is crossed by a diaphragm arch. Prior to Giovannoni's campaign its area was occupied in its east half by the eighteenth century nave: further west, that is, beyond the diaphragm arch, by the chancel niche and the sacristy. However, the north wall of the late nave still enclosed the east end pier as well as the first four columns of the original north colonnade, indicated as early as 1893 on Busiri's plan (fig. 150a)[1]. Similarly, the east end pier of the south colonnade and its third and fourth columns had survived in the late nave wall[2]. The end piers continue somewhat into the masonry of the eighteenth century façade to a full length of 2.00 m.[3] Hence the façade of the original building was slightly further east and the clear length of the nave must have been about 25.50 m[4]. All these elements were uncovered and restored by Giovannoni. At the same time a fifth column was uncovered in the north colonnade, the first to the west of the diaphragm arch. The columns differ from each other in height, diameter and material and are each composed of disparate elements[5]. The first and fourth shafts to the north and the fourth to the south are fluted and, except for the first to the north, so high that they require no bases. The other columns, of *cipollino* and grey granite, sit on attic bases and plinths. The capitals throughout, range from Corinthian to full leaf capitals of differing sizes and dates. All this material is obviously in second use. The intercolumniations of the north colonnade as well vary in width from m. 2.41 to m. 2.55[6]. The colonnades carried an architrave. Only a small part of it is preserved, between the fifth column to the north and the pier of the diaphragm arch; all the rest dates from Giovannoni's campaign[7]. Large parts of the upper walls were apparently well preserved prior to 1931, reaching nearly their present height. But they dated from a twelfth or thirteenth century rebuilding, as did the windows which were reopened by Giovannoni; their shape and size, as he rightly suggested, point to a high medieval date[8]. At present, of course, these walls and their nine steep and narrow windows date largely from Giovannoni's campaign. Certainly the walls in the west half of the nave were erected in that campaign, as were the walls in the east part which stand behind the surviving columns to the north and enclose those to the south, thus forming the boundaries of the present nave.

The diaphragm arch which cuts the nave into two unequal parts is obviously old, though later

[1] Rohault de Fleury, *loc. cit.*, pl. 431 (see also *ibid.*, p. 8) and Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185.

[2] Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185, refers to only one column found *in situ* inside the south wall; but his illustration (Idem, 1934, fig. 8) shows two. He adds that two more columns of the same series, "broken and damaged" were found "in the neighborhood". (1932, p. 185).

[3] As seen by Busiri from the north, the end pier of the north colonnade was m. 1.80 long; see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 431.

[4] Indeed, Busiri (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 431) gives a length of m. 25.48 for the south aisle, in his reconstructed plan; in the north aisle he measured, presumably erroneously, m. 26.47.

[5] The two columns, drawn by Busiri (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, 432) measured m. 0.51 and 0.60 respectively, in diameter.

[6] Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pl. 431.

[7] Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185; Idem, 1934, p. 10.

[8] *Ibid.* In a later second rebuilding, these windows were apparently blocked and replaced by fifteenth century pointed windows, which were lower down, corresponding to the lowering of the nave roof (*ibid.*, p. 24).



Fig. 153. S. Stefano degli Abessini. View of nave, transept and apse, after restoration

than the original building. Its supporting piers enclose the fourth column on either side, and its voussoirs, rather than being formed by single long bricks, are pieced together, more often than not, from two or three small bricks, as was the building practice in Rome in the high Middle Ages[1].

The original nave façade shows on the interior two windows, so high up that only their lower parts show below the modern roof beams. Giovannoni has assigned them to the original ninth century building[2]; but both their position and their narrow openings seem to point to a date in the high Middle Ages.

4. The Aisles

Giovannoni reported that the aisles were completely rebuilt prior to his own campaign[3]. In any event, he himself thoroughly rebuilt the westernmost stretches of both aisle walls adjoining the transept for a distance of m. 4.50. These aisle fragments were also closed off to the east by modern walls. Yet, the south aisle wall seems to have survived, wholly or in part, possibly until 1931 and certainly in 1892-1893, as indicated by Rohault de Fleury's legend on Busiri's plan (fig. 150)[4]. Indeed, a stretch of this wall, more than 12 meters long, has been incorporated in

[1] Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185, considers an alternative dating in the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

[2] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 10.

[3] Giovannoni, 1932, p. 185; Idem, 1934, pp. 10 ff.

[4] See above, p. 183, n. 4 and 5.



(Photo: Musei Vaticani)
Fig. 154*a*. S. Stefano degli Abessini. View of *confessio* and annular crypt during excavation 1932



(Photo: Musei Vaticani)
Fig. 154*b*. S. Stefano degli Abessini. North transept stairs to crypt, during excavation 1932



(Photo: Musei Vaticani)
Fig. 154*c*. S. Stefano degli Abessini. Inscription of Leo IV from crypt

the modern retaining wall near its eastern end close to the façade. It is at present but 50 cm. high, but clearly shows the brick technique customary in ninth century Rome: undulating courses, irregular workmanship, mortarbeds of uneven thickness, and a modulus of 30 cm. for five courses[1].

[1] See above, p. 184.

Of the north wall only the stump adjoining the transept was preserved in 1892-1893. It remains visible to this day and, in contrast to the south aisle wall, shows the building technique used by Roman masons in the high Middle Ages[1]. The rest of the north aisle wall no longer visible in 1892-1893 and in 1931, and its date remains unknown. However, both aisle walls continued the line of the short transept walls, apparently without a break in the masonry. Consequently, the aisles were 5.00 m. wide in the clear, from the column shafts to the outer wall.

5. The crypt

The remains of the crypt were excavated by Giovannoni and preserved in a basement, newly built to carry his high chancel, 1.80 m. above nave level in the center of transept and apse (fig. 153). The chancel shelters the altar, surmounted by a canopy, and below the altar, at nave level, the *fenestella confessionis;* the latter is segregated from the nave area by chancel screens. Altar, canopy, chancel screens and *fenestella* are new, but the former three incorporate old material and the one original fragment of the chancel screens is clearly of ninth century date.

The remains of the crypt represent the annular type which was first established in Rome at St. Peter's under Gregory I (590-604) and remained common there and abroad from the seventh through the ninth centuries, though with variations (figs. 154a, b)[2]. At S. Stefano degli Abessini, the semicircular corridor, 1.60 m. wide, followed as was customary, the inner curve of the apse, at 0.70 m. below nave level; four steps descended to it from either transept wing. From the apex of the curved corridor a short passage, only one meter long, led west into a cross-shaped chamber below the area of the transept. Its lateral arms were provided with low narrow benches or shelves. The east arm, deeper than the other three, issued into a narrow corridor terminated by a thin wall; beyond the latter, very close to the line of the triumphal arch, was a small rectangular pit, presumably the bottom of the *confessio* with its *fenestella* at nave level. Two square spaces, enclosed by walls, on either side of the narrow corridor were presumably filled with earth and supported the floor of the chancel area. The walls of the crypt are preserved to a height of about 65 m. They are built of brickwork with a modulus of 30.5-32 cm. for five courses and are obviously contemporary with the bottom parts of the apse. The pavement both in the annular corridor and in the cross chamber is composed of fragmented thin marble plaques and the descending steps are Roman spoils (fig. 154b). The outer wall of the annular corridor contained three niches for placing lamps as customary in Carolingian crypts. Photographs taken during the excavation show that these niches were of one build with the original apse masonry. Moreover, one of the lintels surmounting the niches bears an inscription "✠ TEMP. DOMN. LEONI. QU...."; it is carved on a block in second use which is inscribed on its bottom side, "DOMIN..." (fig. 154c)[3]. The walls of this niche and presumably of the other two as well were lined with marble plaques, also spoils[4].

6. The earlier structures

Structures antedating the church were uncovered by Giovannoni below nave level and were enclosed in three basement rooms, built for that purpose and accessible by a staircase in the westernmost bay of the north aisle. The level of the basement rooms is 2.56 m. below that of the

[1] See above, p. 185.

[2] S. Pancrazio, 625-638, see above Vol. III, p. 163; S. Crisogono, 731-741, Vol. I, p. 150 f.; perhaps S. Maria in Domnica, 795-816, Vol. II, p. 319 f.; S. Cecilia, 817-824, Vol. I, p. 112; S. Prassede, 817-824, Vol. III, p. 252; S. Marco, 827-844, Vol. II, p. 238 ff.; S. Martino ai Monti, 844-847, Vol. III, pp. 111, 119; perhaps S. Francesca Romana, 847-855, Vol. I, p. 240 f.; SS. Quattro Coronati, 847-855, Vol. IV, p. 25. For a survey of the type in and near Rome, see APOLLONJ-GHETTI, "La chiesa di S. Maria in Vescovio", *RAC* 23/24 (1947/48), pp. 253 ff. esp. 279 ff.

[3] GIOVANNONI, 1932, p. 186; IDEM, 1934, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, fig. 14.

present nave pavement. Through the assistance of Mr. Eugenio Monti we are able to present a first survey of the early structures. This seems the more desirable, since in their majority they appear to have belonged to a group of mausolea which formed a westward extension of the necropolis found under St. Peter's.

The three basement rooms which shelter the early structures are located, the first, below the west end of the nave (basement I); the second, below the west area of the north aisle (basement II); the third below the entire length of the south aisle (basement III). All are interconnected, basements II and III being entered from basement I.

a) Below the nave

Basement I is entered from the descending stairs through an anteroom located below the westernmost area of the north aisle. From there an archway, apparently modern, leads into the basement which extends below the western portion of the nave. To the west, roughly 2.50 m. from the line of the triumphal arch, the basement is terminated by a brickwall standing at a slightly oblique angle to the axis of the church. The masonry is regular, the modulus for five courses fluctuates between 27 amd 29 cm. Drain holes at regular distances suggest the function of the wall: it would seem to be a retaining wall, designed to prevent landslides caused by the thrust of the tongues projecting from the piers that support the arch. It may well have been built in the twelfth century in the course of a thorough rebuilding campaign of the church [1]. At its south end the wall turns at a right angle — the bonding is umistakable — and extends tongue-like east, oversailing a stretch of the north wall of the westernmost of the Roman mausolea below the south aisle. The same regular brick masonry marks the upper parts of the huge clumsy pier and its attached pilaster which to the north project into the basement room, setting it off against both the anteroom and the structure buried below the north aisle.

The south tongue at its eastern end abuts against a stretch of wall composed of but one course of huge tufa blocks and running south to north. The blocks appear to be continued by a stretch of north-south wall roughly across the center axis of the basement room. Similar blocks serve as foundation of the clumsy north pier, while others extend in a light irregular curve along the foot of the south wall of the basement room. The blocks nowhere seem to form a regular pattern and appear to be in second use.

Along the south boundary of basement I, the eastward direction initiated by the brick tongue is continued by a wall of poor rubble work intermingled with brick. It is backed against the north pier which forms the entrance to the westernmost of the Roman mausolea below the south aisle and thus set back 1.50 m. from the line of the brick tongue. Also, it oversails both the north-south tufa wall at its western end and another wall, of brick and rubble work, running parallel to the latter, some one and a half meters east. A niche, but 60 cm. wide and facing north, opens in the wall, uncomfortably close to the tufa wall. Both the size of the niche and the technique of construction suggest that the structure was a chapel of early medieval date. The floor level of the wall with the niche lies sixty-odd centimeters above the earth floor of the basement and it may well have been the pavement attached to this wall which builders of the sacristy struck in 1073-1706 fourteen palmi, that is, 3.12 m. below the eighteenth century pavement: it lay, one recalls, 1.20 m. above the present floor of the church, which in turn is 2.65 m. above basement level.

[1] See below, p. 197.

b) Below the north aisle

In basement II below the western part of the northern aisle, Giovannoni found the remains of another construction, apparently of quite different date and function. Upon entering the basement room from basement I to the south, a long brick wall extends to the left, forming the west wall of the structure, 6.50 m. east of the east wall of the transept. The wall is visible for a length of 6.20 m., but it clearly continues further north. The brickwork of the wall is characterized by its extraordinarily high modulus, up to 35 and 39 cm. for five courses; also it is intermingled with pieces of stone and marble. The wall is met at its south end by another wall running east at right angles; but this was either newly built by Giovannoni or thoroughly restored beyond recognition. Two columns stand against the long west wall, one in the southwest corner, the other 3.60 m. further north, 0.50 m. from the foundation wall of the north aisle. Two more columns rise opposite, at a distance of 3.60 m. from the first pair. The column shafts — only their top parts, between 40 and 60 cm., emerge above present ground level — are obviously spoils, all of different length and diameter. Likewise, the Corinthian capitals are spoils, differing in size and design. The columns to the east, originally free-standing, were later enclosed in clumsy piers, built of irregular brickwork, possibly of early medieval date. The columns along the west wall carried wall arches, each 0.60 m. deep and formed of bipedales. Only the springing survives, one curving north from the southwest column, two more curving north and south from the northwest column. A fourth arch links the southwest column to the southeast column opposite, but we are uncertain whether originally it was a wall arch attached to the (modern?) south wall or a free-standing arch. Likewise, the springing of the groin vault is seen above the northwest column. All these springings and arches show that the bay marked by the four surviving columns was covered by a groin vault; that this bay was continued north by at least one more groin vaulted bay; and hence, that the structure was a colonnaded *loggia*, open toward the east [1]. The diameter of the column shafts, 0.30-0.45 m., and the height of their capitals above basement level, suggests that the original pavement of that *loggia* was ca. m. 3.20 below the level of the basement and ca. 5.80 m. below that of the nave [2]. The total height of the *loggia*, to the crown of the groin vaults would, then, have been 7.50 m. The brickwork of the west wall suggests a fourth century date. The late piers, on the other hand, which enclose the southeast and northeast columns, show poor brickwork presumably of seventh or eighth century date.

c) Below the south aisle

The remains of a row of mausolea are preserved in basement III below the south aisle. Five, it seems to us, can be identified: the first at the east end, the last at the west end of the aisle where it adjoins the transept and, excepting this latter, all closely built against each other. The east wall of the first mausoleum was used by the builders of the church to support the façade of the south aisle; correspondingly, the west wall of the last mausoleum carries the opening and the surmounting wall between aisle and transept. The south walls of the mausolea run parallel to the south wall of the aisle and their north walls parallel to the south colonnade of the nave. But they stand at a distance up to 1.30 m. from the aisle wall and the colonnade respectively and therefore do

[1] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 7 f., believed the structure to be a hall crypt of sixth or seventh century date.
[2] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 7, calculated a level of eight meters below that of the nave.

not seem to have been used as supports; instead, they may have served as a backing for the foundation walls of the church.

The four mausolea in the east part of the area are built of *opus testaceum* in different techniques suggesting second and third century dates. The walls of the mausolea 1, 2 and 5 are set with small round arched *loculi*, designed to contain ash urns; mausoleum 4, on the other hand, was provided with large wall niches to shelter sarcophagi. While the two mausolea at the east end, 1 and 2, appear to be more or less contemporary and built each in one single campaign, mausoleum 3 is built against the west wall of mausoleum 2 and thus later in date. Moreover, it was apparently altered at some time and provided with a new vault. Likewise, mausoleum 4 shows traces of a rebuilding in which piers were inserted in the corners to support strengthening arches, in a technique pointing to the third century. Mausoleum 5 may have been contemporary to start with, as witness remains of its east wall adjoining mausoleum 4, and built in the same technique. On the other hand, the west wall of mausoleum 5 differs greatly. Set with two *loculi* of the customary Roman shape, it yet shows a different type of construction. Bands of brick, ranging from three to ten and more courses, alternate with bands of roughly hewn stone, likewise of varying height: a technique of building, customary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Rome, but quite unknown in antiquity.

Indeed, presumably in the course of rebuilding large parts of the church in the high Middle Ages, the area below the south aisle was covered with vaulting: barrel vaults in the east, terminated by a groin vault at the west end [1].

The placing of the *loculi* in mausolea 1 and 2, roughly 1.40 m. from the present earth floor of the basement and the lack of *loculi* traces further down suggest that the original floor of these mausolea corresponded roughly to the present one. Concomitantly it is clear that their vaults were quite high up and were razed when the church was built, much as were those of the mausolea below St. Peter's. The new vaults inserted in mausolea 3, 4 and 5 start at a far lower level, ca. 0.90 m. from the present earth floor, and it is likely that the original floor in these mausolea was much deeper down.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

The work undertaken by Giovannoni between 1931 and 1933 has fairly faithfully reconstructed the church as it appeared by the twelfth or thirteenth century. The rebuilding which must have taken place at that time had indeed obliterated a good number of ninth century elements, substituting for them features of high medieval design and techniques [2]. Such were the upper walls of the nave above the entablature; the clerestory windows; the diaphragm arch thrown across the nave; the south, west and north walls of the transept, the former two presumably only in their upper parts; the south half of the east wall in the south transept wing; the upper portions of the apse wall; the wall of the north aisle, certainly where it adjoins the transept and perhaps in its entire length; possibly the narthex drawn by Alfarano; and certainly, the extant frame of the main portal [3]. Despite the great extent of these alterations, enough remains to determine the plan and, partially at least, the elevation of the earlier church. Decisive for the reconstruction are, then: the lower

[1] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 7.

[2] Giovannoni, 1934, *passim*, esp. p. 10.

[3] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 18, suggests the possibility that the portal was transferred from some other church. There is no evidence to this effect.

portions of the apse and of the west transept wall; the annular crypt; the triumphal arch, and its supporting T-piers; the east wall of the north transept and the relieving arches above its twin opening; part of the east wall of the south transept adjoining the triumphal arch and preserving one of the relieving arches; the carved lintel of the twin opening leading to the south transept; the colonnades of the nave and the surviving piece of trabeation; the nave façade and the tongue piers at the east end of the nave colonnades; finally, the remaining stretch of wall of the south aisle near the façade. Hence, the original building can be outlined: the nave, 81 R. ft. long and 27 R. ft. wide, in a proportion of 1: 3; the trabeated colonnades, each originally with eight columns at axial distances varying around 8 1/2 R. ft.; the terminating tongue piers, each 6 R. ft. long, projecting from the interior façade as well as from the T-piers at the end of the nave; the triumphal arch and its supporting piers and columns; the aisles, each 17 R. ft. wide, with their twin openings towards the transept, albeit partly rebuilt in the south; the continuous transept, 22 R. ft. deep and 62 1/2 R. ft. long along its west wall, 64 ft. along its east wall; the apse; the annular crypt and *confessio* and hence the raised chancel in the apse and its projection into the transept; finally, the overall measurements of the church, 130 R. ft. long and 70 R. ft. wide, including the thickness of the outer walls, of the aisles, apse and façade. In the elevation, a number of moot points obviously remain [1]: the original height of nave and transept; the size, position and shape of the original windows, the present ones being restored on the basis of their medieval rather than ninth century predecessors; the existence of original windows in the apse; the details of the raised chancel, including its height, length and width, of the chancel screens, the canopy above and the *fenestella* below the altar.

Another point in doubt is the reconstruction of the area in front of the original façade. Alfarano's plan of 1571-1576 indicates the existence of a narthex supported by columns between corner piers but none of the other sixteenth century plans and views, including Bufalini's map of 1551 shows such a narthex. It is true that Alfarano may have seen elements overlooked by other observers and indeed, a narthex of the type shown by him was perfectly possible in Carolingian times, witness as for instance at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla [2]. But it was equally feasible, and indeed more frequently found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Lorenzo f.l.m. and S. Maria in Trastevere among others [3]. Hence, if indeed it was seen by Alfarano at S. Stefano degli Abessini, the narthex could as well have been added in the building campaign of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

The structures buried below the church, are so far too little known to allow for a reliable reconstruction. Only this much is certain, that those below the south aisle are mausolea of a type customary in the first, second and third centuries. Also the *loggia* uncovered below the north aisle may well have been a funerary construction. Nor is there any doubt that all these mausolea are but an extension of the necropolis which lies buried under St. Peter's. The existence of a graveyard west of St. Peter's has, indeed, long been known and it has equally been known that the graveyard remained in use long after St. Peter's had been built [4]. The find of a sarcophagus of sixth century date in front of S. Stefano degli Abessini, is but added proof [5].

Within the context of our studies, the finds made below the nave are possibly of greater import. Both the use of tufa blocks, presumably spoils, and the poor rubble masonry of the wall along the

[1] See also Giovannoni, 1934, pp. 10 and 22 ff.

[2] See above, Vol. III, p. 147, 150.

[3] See above, Vol. II, p. 36, and p. 171 f.; Vol. III, p. 68.

[4] Vegio, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae S. Petri Romae*, Lib. IV, nos. 107, 111, (1455-1457), *AA. SS. Junii VII*, Antwerp, 1717, app. p. 71 f.; Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1632, p. 27; Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*, I, pp. 222 f.

[5] Giovannoni, 1934, p. 20.

south boundary of basement I have no place among the building techniques of Roman antiquity; and while the builders of the late eight and the ninth centuries make frequent use in the foundation walls of "Servian" tufa blocks, the rubble masonry suggests an earlier period, possibly the late seventh or the early eigth century. The brickwork of the clumsy piers enveloping the original columns of the *loggia* in basement II, likewise suggests building operations antedating the Carolingian period. No reconstruction proposals are possible; but the fact should be pointed out.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The mausolea found underneath the church no doubt form part of the westward extension of the necropolis extant below St. Peter's. A number of them appear to date from the second and third centuries. But some may be earlier or later. In particular, the *loggia* construction buried below the north aisle of S. Stefano suggests a date in the fourth century. The rubble walls found below the nave may be of even later date.

Prevailing opinion has attributed the construction of the church of S. Stefano degli Abessini to the pontificate of Leo III, presumably in or about 809, because of his building activity as reported in the *Liber Pontificalis* [1]. The crypt, on the other hand, has been considered a later addition and assigned, on the basis of the inscription surmounting one of the lamp niches, to the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) [2]. This opinion no longer seems tenable to us.

The passage in the biography of Leo III clearly does not refer to the building of a church of major proportions. It limits his activity specifically to the rebuilding and refounding ("firmum iacens fundamentum") of an older monastery and of its oratory ("simul cum oratorio"), presumably small, as indicated also by the tiny lighting fixture donated in 806 [3]. On the other hand, the archeological evidence leaves no doubt that the crypt is of one build with the church itself. Since it is dated by the inscription of Leo IV and since the lintel which bears this inscription seems to have been bonded with the brickwork of apse and crypt, the entire church would seem to date from his pontificate [4]. Nonetheless it is strange that the extensive biography of the pope in the *Liber Pontificalis* does not mention at all any building activity at S. Stefano degli Abessini. Hence one is confronted with a dilemma: either the church was built by Leo IV and in that case the silence of his biographer is inexplicable; or it was built by Leo III and termed simply an oratory,— and this is equally strange. Moreover, in this latter case, the lintel bearing the inscription of Leo IV must have been either inserted into the wall of the existing crypt; or else, the inscription was carved on a stone *in situ* since the time of Leo III. Unfortunately, the plan, proportions, design or, for that matter, the technique of construction do not provide incontrovertible evidence for either an early or a mid-ninth century date. The masonry techniques changed very little from the beginning to after the middle of the century, as shown by a series of securely dated buildings, such as S. Anastasia, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla, S. Prassede, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana) [5]. Annular crypts, too, are common throughout that half

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[1] See above, dig. 795-816 and GIOVANNONI, 1934, pp. 2, 13; see also KRAUTHEIMER, "The Carolingian Revival...", Art Bulletin 24 (1942), pp. 1 ff., esp. p. 16 f.

[2] See above, dig. 847-855 and GIOVANNONI, 1934, p. 13.

[3] See above, dig. 795-816.

[4] The photograph reproduced in GIOVANNONI, 1934, fig. 14, shows clearly bonding.

[5] S. Anastasia, 795-816, Vol. I, p. 53; SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, 814, Vol. III, p. 143; S. Prassede, 817-824, Vol. III, p. 248; S. Martino ai Monti, 844-847, Vol. III, p. 109; S. Francesca Romana, 847-855, Vol. I, p. 232 f.

century [1], as are trabeated colonnades [2]. The only indication of a late date within the years 800-850 for the building of S. Stefano degli Abessini is possibly the utter disregard in the construction of any semblance of uniformity in the use of spoils among the column shafts, capitals and architraves: churches of early ninth century date, such as S. Prassede, strive toward somewhat greater regularity. Hence, S. Stefano should date from the time of Leo IV, whose inscription appeared in the crypt. A date of construction under Leo III could be accepted only if, indeed, the thesis of Leo IV's inscription being a later addition could be accepted.

In any event, contrary to the prevailing assumption, the church including its crypt was built in one single campaign. This original homogeneous construction we are inclined to attribute to the activity of Pope Leo IV. The later remodelings are easily dated. Outstanding among them is the major campaign during which large parts of the original structure were entirely rebuilt, including most of the transept, the upper portions of the nave and the apse, and presumably part of the aisles. The diaphragm arch across the nave, too, belongs to this campaign of rebuilding which we should like to date in the twelfth or thirteenth century [3]. Likewise, some of the features, now enclosed in the basement rooms, date from this rebuilding campaign: presumably, the retaining wall which forms the western boundary of basement I; and almost certainly, the western terminating wall of mausoleum 5 in basement III — probably refaced or rebuilt when the east wall of the south transept was rebuilt [4]. In a second, later campaign the intercolumniations of the nave were blocked and, in consequence, the aisles eliminated; simultaneously, the nave walls were apparently reduced to the height still visible in photographs taken prior to Giovannoni's campaign [5]. Giovannoni suggested a date shortly after 1348 for this remodeling to which he assigned also the construction of the diaphragm arch [6]; others have suggested dates as late as the early seventeenth century [7] and, indeed, as late as 1706 [8]. None of these theses are, in our opinion, tenable. The reduction of the church to the nave and transept areas alone and the lowering of their walls (but not the construction of the high medieval diaphragm arch) can date only from the fifteenth century. By analogy with the similar remodelings of S. Pancrazio, S. Sisto Vecchio and others we propose a date in the pontificate of Sixtus IV [9]. At his time, indeed, a rebuilding "*a fundamentis*" is reported [10]. Also some structural elements still seen by Giovannoni would seem to confirm this date: the "Gothic" brackets of the roof beams [11]; and the blocking in a herringbone pattern of the opening between the transept and the north aisle [12].

The final rebuilding in the eighteenth century and the restoration of the church by Giovannoni are well dated and require no further discussion.

While the construction of the original church can be assigned with certainty to the ninth century and, in all likelihood, to the pontificate of Leo IV, 847-855, the history of the monastery prior to that date is difficult to unravel. The difficulties are caused in part by the existence near St. Peter's

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[1] See above, p. 191, n. 2.

[2] S. Anastasia, 795-816, Vol. I, p. 58; S. Prassede, 817-824, Vol. III, pp. 245, 256; S. Martino ai Monti 844-847, Vol. III, p. 110; S. Francesca Romana, 847-855, Vol. I, pp. 233, 235; SS. Quattro Coronati, 843-855, Vol. IV, p. 18.

[3] See above, p. 188.

[4] We cannot explain the presence in a medieval wall of round-headed *loculi*, unless we can credit the medieval builders with having imitated a feature seen in the Roman wall they had to replace — *pour faire de luxe*, as it were; or, are these *loculi* of Giovannoni's creation?

[5] GIOVANNONI, 1934, p. 6, fig. 4; see also, ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *op. cit.*, pl. 431.

[6] GIOVANNONI, 1934, pp. 18, 20.

[7] LEFEVRE, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 450 f.

[8] HÜLSEN, *Chiese*.

[9] See above, Vol. III, pp. 171, 173; Vol. IV, p. 175 f.

[10] See above, dig. 1475; see also URBAN, "*Kirchenbaukunst*", p. 271 f. and MAURO DA LEONESSA, *op. cit.*, p. 174 f.

[11] GIOVANNONI, 1934, p. 18.

[12] GIOVANNONI, 1934, p. 12, who compared it to the herringbone work found at S. Pudenziana which he erroneously attributed to the twelfth or thirteenth instead of the second century.

of two monasteries dedicated to Saint Stephen: one was " S. Stephani minoris " founded between 752 and 757 by Pope Stephen II, who added it to the three monasteries already existing nearby, St. Martin, Sts. John and Paul and an older St. Stephen, " S. Stephani maioris " [1]. This older St. Stephen is mentioned in 732 as simply " Sci Stephani ... secus basilicam apostoli " together with St. Martin and St. John and Paul, and it may well be the same as "S. Stephani cata Galla Patricia", listed in 757 as owning a house near the monastery of St. Martin [2]. Certainly it is the congregation of this monastery which was reformed by Hadrian I and assigned to services at St. Peter's; the denomination *cata Barbara patricia* can only be a lapsus calami of the compiler of the Liber Pontificalis [3]; again it is this monastery of S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia which was rebuilt by Leo III. It remains still a moot question whether or not it is identical with the monastery " *Sancti Stephani quae (qui) appellatur maiorem* ", listed twice at the time of Leo III, in 802 and again prior to 817 [4]. However, it is likely that the two are the same; indeed, no monastery of S. Stefano Maggiore is included in Leo's donation list of 806, while S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia is listed. The identity of the two certainly was accepted opinion in the eleventh century [5]. If the two, then, are indeed identical, Paschal I, when abbot of S. Stefano Maggiore-cata Galla Patricia, would have changed its function to that of a pilgrims' hostel [6].

Regardless of this identity or non-identity, however, the greatest doubts concern the relation of the monastery of S. Stefano cata Galla Patricia to the nunnery to which the lady Galla Patricia withdrew in the late sixth century, possibly after having founded it [7]. The nunnery is never again recorded after 593/94. It may have been taken over some time before 757 (or indeed, before 732) by a congregation of monks, who incorporated her name into that of their monastery. But it is equally possible that this monastery merely rose near the old nunnery of Galla Patricia and the prefix *cata* (below) added to her name might even suggest that it was at the foot of the hill on the slope of which the latter was located. Of course, it is tempting to think that Galla Patricia set up her nunnery in the graveyard which extended behind St. Peter's, and that she used for that purpose some of the mausolea. Assuming that her nunnery was taken over later by a congregation of monks, the possibility arises that some of the walls found below the nave of S. Stefano degli Abessini, are part of a construction added to the nunnery in the late seventh or the early eighth century. But all this remains unproven.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Stefano degli Abessini clearly takes its place among the Carolingian churches in Rome and elsewhere which revive Early Christian basilica types. In plan it is closest to S. Prassede, with its nave, wide aisles, transept, annular crypt, trabeated colonnades and twin openings between aisles and transept, the latter a reminiscence of the triple openings of the aisles at St. Peter's. Just because of the close resemblance to S. Prassede, it would be important to know whether S. Stefano was built under Leo III and thus prior to S. Prassede, or under Leo IV and hence after its sister church. At this point the question must remain undecided, although we incline toward the later date.

[1] *L. P.* I., p. 422 (decree of Gregory III, 731-741): "... *tria illa monasteria quae secus basilicam apostoli sunt constituta, sanctorum Johannis et Pauli, sancti Stephani et sancti Martini* ..."; *ibid.*, p. 451: " ... *a tribus monasteriis qui a prisco tempore in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ... officium persolvuntur adiungens quartum*..."; see also FERRARI, *Monasteries*, pp. 328 ff.
[2] See above, dig. 757.
[3] See above, dig. 772-795.
[4] See above, digs. 795-816 and prior to 817.
[5] See above, dig. 1073-1074.
[6] See above, dig. prior to 817.
[7] See above, dig. 593-594.

S. STEFANO ROTONDO

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B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATION

I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS.

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II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS.

before 1489 SIMONE DEL POLLAIUOLO (IL CRONACA), Interior, facing east, pen and wash; Florence, Uffizi, Coll. Santarelli 161 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, pl. 15, fig. 31; COLINI, *op. cit.*, fig. 203; our fig. 196).

[1] The guidebooks far into the seventeenth century by and large repeat Fra Santi's brief description.

ca. 1470 FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI, Measured ground plan and Roman sculptured seat, labeled " *Stefano ritondo* ", pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, dis. arch. 330v, 334r (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, I, pls. 7, 8, figs. 16, 18); Reconstruction, pen and ink; Turin Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Saluzziano 148, f. 84 (FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI, *Trattati*, ed. MALTESE [*Classici Italiani di Scienze Techniche ed Arti, Trattati di architettura*, III], Milan, 1967, pl. 155).
early XVI century BRAMANTINO (?), Free variant on ground plan, pen and ink; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (ed. MONGERI, *op. cit.*, pl. 39).
ca. 1560 SANSOVINO, Measured plan, pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, dis. arch. 2059 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, pl. 353, fig. 616; COLINI, *op. cit.*, fig. 204; our fig. 155).
ca. 1560 PALLADIO WORKSHOP (?), Ground plan, pen and ink; London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Burlington-Devonshire Collection, IX, f. 3 (ZORZI, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Venice, 1959, p. 106, fig. 268; our fig. 156).
1560—1570 LIGORIO, Ground plan, pen and ink; Oxford, Bodleiana, Can. 138, f. 16 (MIDDLETON, " Ancient Rome: MS. Note, by Pirro Ligorio... ", *Archaeologia* 51 [1888], p. 489 ff., esp. 496 and fig. 7); Ideal plan of Castra Peregrinorum including S. Stefano, pen and ink; *Antichità di Roma*, Turin, Archivio di Stato, V, f. 127 (COLINI, *op. cit.*, fig. 200).
1568—1572[1] ANONYMOUS FABRICZY, View from Palatine, pen and ink; Stuttgart, Kupferstichkabinett, Sammelband holländischer Landschaftszeichnungen, XVI-XVII cent., f. 67, no. 206 (EGGER, I, pl. 87).
1588 FRA SANTI, View with narthex, woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 65[2] (our fig. 158).
1615 GIOVANNOLI, Exterior from west, engraving; *Roma antica*, II, Rome, 1615, c. 20.
1618 MAGGI, View of church and convent from north, engraving; *Aedificiorum et ruinarum Romae...*, I, Rome, 1618 (no pagination).
ca. 1650 GRIMALDI, View from west, pen and wash; Windsor, Royal Library, no. 5783 (KURZ, *Bolognese Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1955, p. 112, fig. 55, with reference to a view of the church in another drawing by GRIMALDI, London, British Museum, *Libro di Paesi*, f. 34).
1675—1677 DESGODETZ, Plan and sections, engravings; *op. cit.*, pls. 1, 2.
1699 ANONYMOUS, Mosaic in eastern apse, engraving (CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monimenta*, II, pl. 32).
prior to 1789 SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, Plan, elevation, section, exterior view and detail of exterior ambulatory wall, engravings; *Histoire de l'art*, IV, pl. 22.
1800 UGGERI, View engraving; *Journées pittoresques des edifices de Rome*, I, Rome, 1800, pl. 23.
1809 UGGERI, Plan, engraving; *Edifices de la décadence* (*Supplément aux Journées...*, II), Rome, 1809, pl. 10.
1815 ff. VALADIER, Plan and section of church (revised from Desgodetz), plan of excavation in outer northwest area and elevation of right wall, east chapel, engravings (VALADIER and CANINA, *op. cit.*, pls. 11, 12).
ca. 1820 GIANI, View from northwest, pen and wash; Rome, Bibl. Hertziana, sketchbook, II, f. 11.
1822 ROSSINI, View of interior from east chapel, engraving; *Le antichità Romane*, Rome, 1829, pl. 91.
1827—1828 BUNSEN, GUTENSOHN and KNAPP, Plan, exterior and interior views, engravings; *Basiliken*, pls. 19, c; 21.
1827—1828 HÜBSCH, Plan, elevation, sections, lithographs; *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, 3-12; XVII, 1.
1829 ROSSINI, View of interior across ambulatory, engraving; *I sette colli di Roma...*, Rome, 1828-1829, pl. 16.
ca. 1870 PARKER, View from east, photograph; Rome, British School, Parker photographs, 4to, no. 212.

C. CHRONOLOGY

468—483 Pope Simplicius I dedicates " *Basilicam Sancti Stephani in Celio monte, in urbe Roma* " (*L.P.*, I, p. 249).
523—530 Popes John I and Felix IV decorate the church with mosaics and marble revetment respectively, as described in two inscriptions preserved in the Lorsch Sylloge I: " *In Sc̄o Stephano opus quod basilicae beati martyris stephani defuit a iohanne ēpo marmoribus inchoatum iuuante dn̄o felix papa addito musiuo splendore sc̄ae plebi dī perfecit* " (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 152, no. 29; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, p. 158); and " *Dn̄o iuuante felix eps di famulus forum basilicae beati martyris stephani musiuo & marmoribus decorauit* " (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 152, no. 32).

[1] Exterior views of S. Stefano, frequent from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, contribute little, especially when taken from far away. We therefore list but a small selection of close-up views.
[2] This view was repeated in all the later guidebooks.

625—638 The church is listed as " *sci stefani* " in the *Epitome de locis scis martyrum* (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 143).

642—649 Theodore I transfers the relics of Saints Primus and Felicianus from their catacomb on the Via Nomentana to the " *basilica beati Stephani protomartyris* " and bestows gifts upon the church (" *gabatas aureas III, tabula ex argento ante confessionem, arcos argentos* "; *L.P.* I, p. 332 f.). He probably builds and certainly decorates the small eastern apse with a mosaic depicting the two martyrs, inscribed, " + SCS PRIMUS + SCS FELICIANUS " and with a distich, now only partially preserved, but copied in the Lorsch Sylloge I (see also Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, II, pl. 32) and restored in 1735: " (*Aspicis au*)RATVM CAELESTI(*culmine tectum astrife*)RVM(*qu*)E MICANS PRECLARO LVMINE FVLTVM " (De Rossi, *Musaici*, fasc. 17, " S. Stefano Rotondo ", p. 2 f.). Another inscription, of unknown location, recorded in the Lorsch Sylloge, ran:

Exquirens pietas tectum dedorare sacratum
pastoris summi Theodori cordem erexit
qui studio magno sanctorum corpora cultu
hoc dedicavit, non patris neglectu reliquit

(De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 152, no. 30; *L.P.*, I, p. 334, n. 9).

before 700[1] An altar in honor of St. John the Baptist is given by one bishop Palumbus, otherwise unknown; lost inscription, known from Lorsch Sylloge I (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 152 f., no. 33).

686 For the election of Conon I to the papacy, the *exercitus* of Rome assembles "... *in basilica sancti Stephani* ... " (*L.P.*, I, p. 368).

772—795 Hadrian I gives textiles to " *basilica beati Stephani protomartyris in Celio monte* " and undertakes a major restoration of the church: " *basilicam ... Stephani sitam in Celio monte, que per olitana tempora marcuerat, maximas in ea deferens trabes, tam mole basilicae quamque portica mirifice intrinsecus et extrinsecus noviter renovavit* ". (*L.P.*, I, pp. 504, 510).

end of VIII century The Itinerarium Einsidlense lists the church " *Ad scm stephanum inceliomonte* " (Lanciani, *Itin. Einsidlense*, col. 444).

795—816 Leo III makes donations " *in ecclesia (basilica) sancti (beatissimi) Stephani in Celio (Caelio) monte* ". In about 802, he gives textiles, one " *in altare maiorem* ", another " *supra corpora ... Primi et Feliciani* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 13); in 806, a medium-sized crown of silver (*ibid.*, p. 20); and ca. 812, another textile, (*ibid.*, p. 31) [2].

IX century (?) An epitaph, perhaps from S. Maria in Domnica, read in the sixteenth century " *In S. Stephano in Monte Caelio* ":

Hic requiescit corpus devotus
XPI famulus Archipbr Benedictus
Diac sce Marie Qa Domica §
Oms Qx ad hanc Basilica ingreditis
Dignemini orare pro me peccatore
p XPI nomen oms coniurans ut
nullus hoc tumulo violare audeat
Sc quis aute violare psuper
patre et filio et sps sce ana
om pp danatus existat.

(Suarez, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 3084 [XXXVIII. 100], c. 172).

1118—1119 The church is first mentioned as the title of a cardinal, one " *Saxo de Anagnia sancti Stefani in Celio Monte* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 312).

1130—1143 Innocent II repairs the church, which threatens to collapse: " *ecclesiam Sancti Stephani in Celio monte pro nimia vetustate quassatam optime reparavit* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 384).

1447 The church is without a roof, at least over the nave: " ... *ecclesia S. Stephani quam tecto nunc carentem...* " (Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, 1527, c. 13^{v}).

1452—1454 Nicholas V undertakes a major restoration of the church, directed by Bernardo Rossellino, con-

[1] This is the presumed date of the completion of the original sylloge from which the Lorsch Sylloge was drawn; see Silvagni, " Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche di Roma... ", *Diss. Pont. Accad.* ser. II, 15 (1921), p. 179 ff.

[2] The dates suggested are based on Hülsen, " Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III ", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1923), pp. 107 ff., esp. 110 f.

firmed by inscriptions, records of payments, a papal bull and contemporary reports:

1. Inscriptions:

a) On the architrave above the bipartite entrance from the vestibule to the church: " ECCLAM HANC PROTHOMARTYRIS SANCTI STEPHANI DIV ANTE COLLAPSAM NICOLAVS V. PONT. MAX. EX INTEGRO INSTAVRAVIT MCCCCLIII " (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 208, no. 538).

b) on the door frame in the sacristy, partitioned off the east chapel: " NICOLAVS . PAPA . V. M. CCCC . LIIII " (*ibid.*, no. 539).

2. Records of payments for a pavement, whitewashing, door frames and window frames and glazing, including stained glass: in 1453, " *A maestro Bernardo di Matteo da Firenze, maestro di muro ... ducati mille di camera ... sons per lo palmentato di S. Stefano Ritondo* [sic], *e per entonichatura d'esso, per li altari di marmo e porte di marmo e finestre di marmo* "; " *Mo. Giovanni d'Andrea e compagni maestri di finestre di vetro ... ducati 40 ... per parte delle finestre fa a Santo Stefano Ritondo ...* " ; " *A maestro Giovanni d'Andrea e li compagni dipintore di finestre di vetro ... ducati 236 ... per 8 finestre grandi e 2 ochi grande e 2 finestre picole e 36 ochi picoli a fatto a santo Stefano Ritondo a fighure e a ochi ...* "; in 1454, " *A maestro Domenico da Montelupo fabro ... duc. 28, bol. 51 d. c. per libre 287 di fero lavorato dato a santo Stefano Ritondo, cioè 4 finestre e una catena per la volta e arpioni e grapi ...* "; in 1463 a last payment is recorded, possibly to take care of an outstanding debt, to " *frate Valentino penitentiere di Nostro Signore 100 ducate per la frabicha* [sic] *di santo Stefano in Cielimonte del quale lui ne padrone* [sic] " (Müntz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 142, f., 293; Tomei, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

3. A bull of Nicholas V, August, 1454: " ... *nos, qui dudum miserati deformi ruinae venerabilis ecclesiae S. Stephani in Coelio monte de Urbe, tamdiu ... per multa tempora collapsae, et divino cultu penitus destitutae, eamdem ecclesiam non sine magnis sumptibus, Deo opitulante, instauravimus, et ad decentem statum reduximus ...* " (*Collectionis Bullarum ... Basilicae Vaticanae ... Tomus ...*, II, Rome, 1750, pp. 146 f.; see also Müntz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112, n. 1, and Tomei, *op. cit.*, p. 104, n. 1).

4. Contemporary reports: " *Templum sancti Stephani in Coelio monte a fundamentis restauravit...* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 558); " ... *fece coprire et acconciare la ecclesia di Santo Stefano Rotonno ...* " (Stefano dell'Infessura, *Diario*, ed. Tommasini, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, Rome, 1890, p. 50); " *hedifitio ruinato ... rifacionnolo papa Nichola ma molto più lo guastò ...* " (Francesco di Giorgio, *op. cit.*, ed. Promis, p. 98; *op. cit.*, Maltese, p. 283 f.).

1573—1585 In 1573 Gregory XIII gives the church of S. Stefano Rotondo to the Collegium Germanicum; and in 1580 he provides a new entrance from the ambulatory to the sacristy with an inscription, " GRE. XIII. A. MD. LXXX " (Forcella, *Iscrizione*, VIII, p. 210, no. 544), and has an octagonal chancel set up in the center of the nave, decorated with the griffins of his coat-of-arms. In 1585 he has the ambulatory wall frescoed with martyr scenes by Pomarancio, Matteo da Siena and Tempesta (Baglione, *Vite*, 1642, pp. 41, 44; 1733, pp. 38, 41 f., 202).

1613 A wooden tabernacle executed by the baker Johann Gentner is placed in the center of the rotunda; painted inscription on base: " IO. GENTNER SVEVVS BELSANENSIS IN VRBE PISTOR TABERNACVLVM HOC SVA MANV PERFECTVM SVAE NATIONIS GRATIAM COLL^{o} GERM^{co} DONAVIT ET HIC ITA POSVIT VT LICEAT EIVS RECTORI IN COLL^{ii} TEMPLVM TRANSFERE [sic] CVM EXPEDIRE IVDICAVERIT DIE XIX IANVARII ANNO DOM .M.DCXIII ". (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 210, no. 545).

1736 Under Clement XII, Cardinal Gentili builds a new high altar in " *ecclesia S. Stephani in monte Celio* " and transfers into it the relics of the martyrs Primus and Felicianus, reconsecrating the altar to their patronage; inscription behind the main altar:

CORPORA SS . MM . PRIMI ET FELICIANI
EX ARENARIO NOMENTANO ...
HVIVS ECCLESIAE S.STEPHANI IN MONTE
COELIO PRAESB . CARD . GENTILI SVB NOVO
ALTARI A SE EXCITATO ET CONSECRATO
SOLEMNI POMPA REPOSVIT X.IVNY MDCCXXXVI.

(Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 211, no. 546; see also: Marangoni, *ins. cit.*, f. 97 ff. and Cancellieri, *ms. cit.*, f. 164 f.).

1960— Prof. Carlo Ceschi directs repairs.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

From the fifteenth through the early part of the twentieth century, the " sphinx of the Caelian Hill " was generally considered a classical building: a " *tempio d'idoli* " [1]; the " *templum Fauni* " [2]; the temple of the Emperor Claudius [3]; possibly a round basilica [4]; a temple of Bacchus, or an *armamentarium* [5]; finally, a *macellum* and, indeed, the *macellum magnum* of Nero [6]. A compromise opinion held it to be a church erected on classical foundations [7]. All these hypotheses were based on the indications of classical topographers, reinforced by the misreading of a passage in the *Mirabilia* [8]. However, beginning with the early nineteenth century, scholarly opinion turned more and more toward the opinion that S. Stefano Rotondo was laid out in its present form by Pope Simplicius and was a church from the outset [9]. Recent observations and excavations have definitely confirmed this thesis.

The structure stands among gardens on the crest of the Caelian Hill. To the east the level ridge extends as far as the Lateran, half a mile away. On the other three sides the land descends: to the south the descent is abrupt to the Porta Metronia; to the north, in the direction of the Coliseum, it is rather less steep; and to the west, after a space of level ground on which S. Maria in Domnica stands, the land falls almost precipitously to the Via Appia.

Interlocked circular and cruciform elements formed the plan of the church (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 194, 195). It consisted of a tall central rotunda; a concentric ambulatory originally opening outward in arcades; a second concentric perimeter wall; and four radial chapels, equally spaced in the area between the wall of the ambulatory and the outer perimeter wall. Although contained within the circle of this perimeter wall, the chapels rose higher than the roofs of the ambulatory and thus distinctly articulated the cruciform design of the building (pl. XIII; figs. 194, 195). Today three of the four radial chapels have disappeared and much of the outer circuit of the church is no longer roofed and has been turned into gardens, while the outer arcade of the ambulatory has been walled up (fig. 157). The church seems to have been entered originally through eight doorways spaced evenly in the outer perimeter wall, two between each radial chapel. The four chapels created cross axes, one more accentuated than the other, as will be described below. The major axis runs from west-southwest to east-northeast [10] (pl. XII), but for the sake of brevity we will speak of the surviving chapel as the eastern one.

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[1] Rucellai, ed. Perosa, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[2] Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, 1527, c. 13v: " *ecclesiam sancti Stephani rotundam Simplicius ... aut extruxit aut quod magis credimus, exornavit* "; Idem, *Roma Ristaurata*, 1543, c. 20v: " *fu sopra il Tempio di Fauno da papa Simplicio edificata o piuttosto exornata* "; Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 288r ff.: " *... credo... fusse piuttosto di Fauno ... Simplicio dedicò solo questa chiesa et non la fabricò perchè essendo prima tempio de' Gentili ...* ". The cautions still included by Biondo are discarded by the guidebooks, starting with Fauno, in their ever repeated statement, " *fu già tempio di Fauno* ".

[3] Donati, *Roma vetus*, Rome, 1639, p. 246; Venuti, *Antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1803, p. 184.

[4] Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, 14 (Paris, 1512, f. 115): " *Basilicas etiam rotundas facere aggressi sunt* ", can be plausibly referred to S. Stefano.

[5] Nardini, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1666, p. 100 (ed. Falconieri, Rome, 1771, I, p. 258; ed. Nibby, Rome, 1818, I, p. 205).

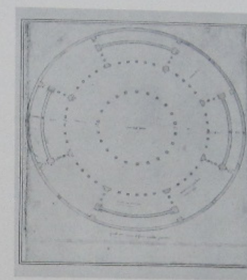
[6] *Ibid.*; Isabelle, *op. cit.*, pl. 38; Lanciani, *Itin. Einsidlense*, col. 503 ff. and Idem, *F. U. R.*, pl. 36; Hülsen, *op. cit.*, 1892, p. 265 ff., esp. 297 ff.; Homo, *Lexique de Topographie Romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 331; and Wulzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 83 ff.

[7] Biondo and Ugonio, as quoted above, n. 2; Guattani, *Roma antica*, II, Rome, 1795, p. 7; Lanciani, *Itin. Einsidlense*, col. 503 ff.; Idem, *F. U. R.*, pl. 36.

[8] Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Topographicus*, Würzburg, 1871, p. 112 (*Mirabilia Urbis Romae*): " *Sanctus Stephanus rotundus fuit templum Fauni* " (Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. topografico*, III, pp. 62, 94, 125, with the correct revision (p. 62 n. 2), that this refers to the round temple at the Tiber, S. Stefano delle Carrozze; see Hülsen, *Chiese*, p. 484).

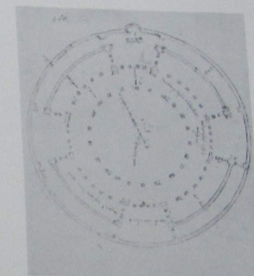
[9] Nibby, *op. cit.*, 1818, p. 205; Idem, *Roma nel 1838*, I, p. 728; Hübsch, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Dehio and von Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*. I, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 40; De Rossi, *op. cit.*, 1886, and Idem, *Musaici*, fasc. 17, " S. Stefano Rotondo ", p. 1 ff.; Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 1934, *passim*; Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 246 ff.; Cecchelli, in Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, p. 1457 ff.

[10] Why the church was not truly orientated is a problem that still has to be solved. It may be worth noting that if the major axis is extended, it passes through the Lateran (S. C.).



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 2059)

Fig. 155. S. Stefano Rotondo. Jacopo Sansovino, Plan of church, ca. 1550



(London, RIBA, Burlington-Devonshire coll., VIII, f. 9)

Fig. 156. S. Stefano Rotondo. Anonymous (Palladio workshop?), Plan of church, ca. 1570, reconstruction.



(Photo: Fotocielo)

Fig. 157. S. Stefano Rotondo. Air view of church



Fig. 158. S. Stefano Rotondo. Fra Santi, View of façade with portico and (right hand) convent buildings, 1588

Today the church is entered through one of the original doorways, in the northeast sector of the perimeter wall. North of the entrance the curved wall is concealed by a rectangular building of fifteenth century date with later additions, at present the residence of a religious community.

The church door is sheltered by an arcaded portico which seems, by its style and its masonry technique, to be Romanesque (fig. 158). The original doorway is enriched by a molded marble frame inscribed on the lintel with the monogram of Nicholas V, "PPNV". The door leads to an approximately rectangular vestibule which obviously dates from the same remodeling. It is covered with a barrel vault with interpenetrations which bears the painted arms of Nicholas V. The northeast wall of the vestibule (that is, the north wall of the east chapel) was apparently also provided with a door and frame, inscribed by Nicholas V[1]. The north-west wall of the vestibule, apparently built by Pope Nicholas, was later opened and turned into a loggia. This loggia gave onto a small courtyard which is bounded to the southwest by a wall of the church, and by the convent buildings on the other two sides. A marble wellhead bearing the arms of Leo X (1513-1521), among others[2], and possibly dating as early as 1513, surrounds the opening to a cistern which lies beneath the courtyard pavement. At the southwest end of Nicholas V's vestibule, twin doorways lead into the church; their lintel is inscribed with Nicholas V's dedicatory inscription[3]. From there, one enters the wide annular aisle which surrounds the central rotunda and is divided from it by a circle of



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 159. S. Stefano Rotondo. View from east chapel across ambulatory and nave

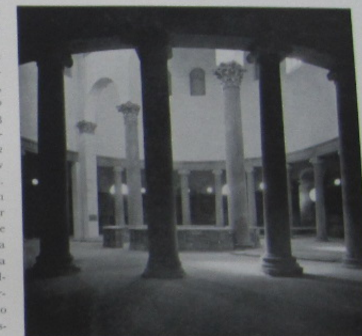
[1] See above, dig. 1452-1454.

[2] Moroni Lumbroso, "Due cisterne di chiostri. S. Stefano e S. Callisto", *Fede e Arte* 14 (1966), p. 220 ff. The arms are those of Leo X, King Ladislaus of Hungary († 1516), Giovanni Giordano Orsini and the Cardinals Lorenzo Pucci (1513-1531) and Achille Grasso (1511-1523).

[3] See above, dig. 1452-1454.

twenty-two Ionic columns crowned with marble architraves (fig. 159). The external wall of the aisle originally opened in an arcaded colonnade, but most of the inter-columniations have now been walled up to create the present outer wall of the church. The majority of the gruesome martyrdom frescoes occur on these blocking walls (fig. 168). The tiled roof of the annular aisle is concealed internally by a simple coffered wooden ceiling of fifteenth century date, supported by large cross beams which rest on wooden brackets with acanthus leaves, the whole now restored (fig. 163a).

The inner ring of Ionic columns supports the cylindrical wall of the rotunda, which has a diameter of 22.30 m. (75½ R. ft.) and rises 23 m. above the floor. Its clerestorey wall is pierced by 22 windows, 14 of which are now walled up (pl. XIII; fig. 160). A transverse triple arcade on the diameter of the cylinder and at right angles to the main axis divides the rotunda into two parts; its arches, a wide one flanked by two smaller ones, rest on two large corinthian columns and two brick end piers. The transverse diaphragm arcade supports the ceiling of the rotunda, originally of fifteenth century date and similar in style to that of the annular aisle, and recently renewed. An octagonal space in the middle of the rotunda, between the two columns of the transverse arcade, is set apart for a high altar and enclosed by a low chancel wall which is decorated with molded plasterwork, including the heraldic griffins of Gregory XIII[1]. Also, until a few years ago, there stood within the enclosure a wooden tabernacle, the handiwork of a Swabian baker-confectioner[2].



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 160. S. Stefano Rotondo. View of nave and diaphragm arcade

The main axis of the cross-shaped church lies at right angles to the transverse arcade and is denoted by variations in the columns and arches of the outer colonnade: the columns on either side of the axis are taller and more ornate than the others (pl. XIII; fig. 163a). Similarly, the transverse axis is defined by columns in the outer colonnade which are larger than those in the diagonal sectors, although not so large as those of the major axis (pl. XIII; fig. 168). The two large columns at the west end of the main axis flank a small apse, while the four columns opposite them, at the east end, open into the chapel which is the only of the four arms of the cross that survives.

[1] See above, dig. 1573-1585.

[2] See above, dig. 1613.

This chapel is narrower today than originally, because chambers have been partitioned off on each side of it: to the left there is a sacristy; to the right, a store room (pl. XII). A round-headed window opens into the main room of the chapel and into each of its side rooms; of the three windows, only the middle one still carries its original fifteenth century tracery. Further to the right, two open intercolumniations of the outer colonnade lead into a Baroque chapel dedicated to Saints Stephen of Hungary and Paul the Hermit, while left of the sacristy, the corresponding pair of intercolumniations in the outer colonnade coincides with the twin doorway through which the annular aisle is entered from the vestibule (fig. 168, right).



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)
Fig. 161. S. Stefano Rotondo. Exterior view from west

The chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, the east chapel which is the surviving arm of the original cross plan, the vestibule of Nicholas V and the Renaissance convent buildings, all combine to occupy about one third of the annular space between the outer colonnade and the original perimeter wall of the church (pl. XII). The other two thirds are now a garden (figs. 157, 161). In the annular walls of the garden traces survive of the three missing chapels, which constituted the other arms of the cross, and of the symmetrically spaced doorways which were originally designed to afford access to the church through the diagonal sectors of the perimeter wall (figs. 188, 190, 191).

The few vestiges of Roman construction which have come to light within the area of the church may be dealt with summarily at this point. Excavating in the garden which now takes the place of the north chapel and northwest diagonal sector, Valadier came upon the lowest courses of a wall, 0.40 m. thick, lying more or less parallel to the outer colonnade (fig. 183). From this wall an absidal exedra, its wall 0.64 m. thick, extended north[1]. Valadier's drawing is misleading in that it depicts the first wall as a segment of a circle which might be concentric with the church; however, excavation of the feature in 1960 proved that the wall in question was straight and quite unrelated to the church (fig. 193 *a*, *b*). It appears to date from the time of the Severan emperors.

Excavations undertaken in 1958 by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio beneath the

[1] VALADIER and CANINA, *op. cit.*, pl. 12 (our fig. 183). Valadier gives the measurements in *piedi du roi*, 1 ft. 3.6 ins. and 1 ft. 10.6 ins. respectively.

floor of the Renaissance loggia which flanks the northeast courtyard revealed inconclusive remains of an antecedent building with steps; the style of brickwork suggests a date in the second century. Between this and the foundations of the church wall, two terracotta sarcophagi were found. They seem to be later than the church.

Finally, an excavation at the center of the rotunda, undertaken by the Soprintendenza, disclosed, 0.74 m. below floor level, the top surviving portion of a Roman wall; having a coursing modulus of 6 to 6½ courses per R. ft., it is built of the thin bricks which are associated with the Severan period. The wall face is turned almost exactly south and is oblique to the orientation of the church. All these antecedent features seem likely to belong to the *castra peregrinorum*, remains of which are known both east and west of the site of the church[1].

E. ANALYSIS

1. The central rotunda

The present pavement of the church is concrete, made of broken marble polished to a smooth surface; it is certainly later than the twelfth century because it covers the bottom edge of the bases of the two columns which carry across the center room the diaphragm arcade of Innocent II, 1130-1143[2]. Thus the pavement either dates from the time of Nicholas V or, more likely, is contemporary with Gregory XIII's octagonal chancel barrier (fig. 159). A trench dug by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio in 1958, near the middle of the rotunda, showed that the concrete surface material, 0.10 m. thick, lies over a 0.28 m. under-floor of coarser concrete. The underfloor rests on a level bed of compacted rubble and earth. Removing this, the excavators discovered the Severan wall described above. Nothing was found in the sides of the excavation trench that could represent either the surface or the substructure of an ancient pavement of the church.

Another campaign of soundings undertaken by the Soprintendenza in 1967 and 1968 has clarified the situation (fig. 164). The column shafts of the rotunda rest on bases and plinths. All the bases differ in height and design and the plinths likewise vary in height from 10 to 13 cm. The late, presumably sixteenth century pavement hence covered parts of some, and some entire bases and many of the plinths. The soundings have shown that the plinths are carried by travertine base blocks, from as little as 17 to as much as 46 cm. high, and that these blocks in turn rest on the top of the circular foundation wall of the colonnade. The function of the blocks was obviously to counteract the varying heights of the shafts, bases and plinths, all apparently spoils. In the intercolumniations between the base blocks the foundation wall carried a bed of concrete, 7 cm. high, and this in turn supported the marble plaques of the original floor, which were ca. 2 cm. thick. Thus the plinths of the columns originally rose from 16 to 37 cm. above the marble pavement. The base blocks, from the floor level to the plinths, acted as socles and were presumably revetted with marble plaques. The blocks are at times smaller than the plinths they carry, at other times slightly larger; where a block is too short to reach the level of the plinths, rough masonry fills the gap. The situation is clearest in the West sector, where it is also evident that the marble pavement extends from the intercolumniations into the central nave as well as into the ambulatory; thus it is clear that both these areas were fully paved.

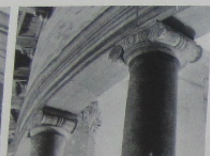
The rotunda rests on 22 Ionic columns, 6.80 m. high and set in a perfect circle, 2.40-2.60 m.

[1] ASHBY and REYNOLDS, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ff. Further walls, apparently belonging to the same Roman building were traced in 1968 by the Soprintendenza. At this point we can only note their existence in the expectation that they will soon be published.

[2] See below, p. 215, and above, dig. 1130-1143.

apart in the clear; on the central axis the distance rises to 2.80 m. (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 160, 165). The grey marble column bases are not uniform; some of them are classical spoils while others, from the character of the molding, seem to be of Early Christian date. The shafts are all monolithic and of grey granite, but they vary in length between 5.75 m. and 6.19 m. and proportionately in diameter from 0.74 to 0.82 m. (the thinnest shaft has a base circumference of 2.22 m., the thickest, 2.55 m.). The Ionic capitals are a uniform set, having approximately identical abaci, scrolls and cushions; but each capital is specially shaped at the neck so as to fit the diameter of the shaft which supports it (figs. 162 *a*, *b*, *c*). Hence the capitals were made for the present shafts and probably for their present location. Although robust and severe, the character of the sculpture is unsophisticated


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 162*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Nave capital and entablature, seen from nave


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 162*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Nave capitals and entablature, seen from aisle


(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 162*c*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Nave capital and entablature, seen from nave


(Photo: Fototeca Unione)
Fig. 163*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. East chapel, arcade and view into ambulatory, showing (right back ground) relieving arches over nave entablature


(Photo: Malmstrom)
Fig. 163*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Nave colonnade, entablature and relieving arches, across ambulatory

and reveals the style of a time when architectural carving was no longer a flourishing art in Rome. By way of minor variation some of the capitals have foliate necks, while others are undecorated; some are girdled with rope molding at the base of the cushion, while others are not; and the leaf decoration of the scrolls shows many variations. The colonnade carries a horizontal annular entablature; each intercolumniation is spanned by a heavy marble lintel, curved in plan and decorated on both sides with architrave, frieze and cornice moldings, which are uniform throughout the circle. The annular entablature, with the help of semicircular relieving arches (fig. 136b), supports the drum of the rotunda, a cylindrical brick wall 0.85 m. (3 R. ft.) thick and about 14 m. (nearly 50 R. ft.) high; some of the relieving arches are visible from the ambulatory, having been uncovered in 1967. The brickwork of the rotunda wall is laid in horizontal courses with thick mortar beds giving a modulus of only 4 courses, or occasionally 4½, per R. ft.

At a height of 14.40 m. (50 R. ft.) above the floor, the brick cylinder in pierced by 22 equally spaced round-headed clerestorey windows, 1.65 m. (5½ R. ft.) wide and spaced about 1.80 m. (6 R. ft.) apart (pl. XIII; figs. 160, 161, 165, 166). Each window is spanned by a semicircular arch of radially set brick voussoirs 0.44 m. long. The diameter of the arches is 1.86 m., making a set back of 10 cm. at the top of each window jamb. At the level of the arch springings, the cylindrical wall is reduced in thickness from 0.85 to 0.70 m. by an inclined ledge which passes horizontally around the inner face of the rotunda wall. Of the 22 original window openings all but eight are blocked with brickwork of uncertain date; those remaining open are furnished with a marble tracery of twin round-headed lights surmounted by a circle, and must date from the period of Nicholas V[1]. The original window sill level is visible on the inside; outside it is masked by the aisle roof which is evidently a little higher now than was originally intended. Externally, the brickwork of the cylindrical clerestorey is perforated by numerous scaffold holes arranged in approximately horizontal rows (figs. 161, 166). The lowest are in the piers between the windows; 1.70 m. higher up a course of holes corresponds with the upper part of the window arches, and 1.50 m. above them follows another course. The scaffold holes in these three courses are about 10 cm. square. However, after rising for another 1.50 m., the wall is perforated with a course of small round holes such as we often note in Carolingian masonry in Rome, and about 0.60 m. higher up, there is another course of the same small holes. Finally, near the top of the wall, we find a course of large square holes which we take to date from the twelfth century; 0.30 m. further up, the cylindrical wall terminates in a typical Romanesque cornice of saw-tooth brickwork and white marble modilions. The original wall thus survives to a height of roughly 21 meters.


(Photo: Fototeca Unione)
Fig. 164. S. Stefano Rotondo. Pavement and bedding between westernmost nave columns

At a level of 1.10 m. above the apex of the clerestorey windows, the wall is pierced by two terracotta tubes, about 10 cm. in diameter and surrounded by a star of radially-set bricks (fig. 166). They are diametrically opposed to each other in the northeast and southwest sectors of the rotunda.

[1] The clerestorey window frames are the same as those surviving in the three windows in the east radial chapel (see above, dig. 145a-145a and below, p. 225 and pl. XIII).



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)
Fig. 165. S. Stefano Rotondo. Clerestorey of nave showing ledge between windows

Their exact purpose is unknown, but it must be observed that the two holes really face due north and south[1]; our use of the terms "east" and "west" for the main axis of the church is, after *all*, conventional.

The transverse triple arcade which divides the rotunda internally is supported by a pair of antique columns of red granite, surmounted by Corinthian capitals and placed between T-shaped brick end piers which likewise are capped by ancient Corinthian capitals, square in plan (pl. XIII; fig. 160). Each end pier envelops one Ionic column of the rotunda colonnade and has been recently uncovered within the brick piers (fig. 167). The end piers are built of accurately coursed brickwork with a modulus of 5 to 5½ courses per R. ft.; the mortar beds average 16 mm. in thickness, as is characteristic of masons work in Rome during the Romanesque period. The Corinthian columns are 10.50 m. high and have grey granite shafts with marble bases and capitals. The wall above the three arches rises to the roof of the rotunda and in the upper part is perforated by five large round-headed openings, the middle one larger and set higher up than the pair to each side; the masonry cannot be examined, as it is coated with plaster. Above the fifteenth century ceiling, the present conical tiled roof rests on a steel frame, erected in 1960 to replace the fifteenth century timber beams, which had decayed.



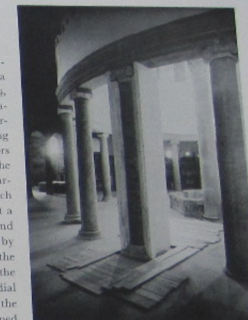
(Photo: Corbett)
Fig. 166. S. Stefano Rotondo. Exterior of drum from north

[1] A very similar feature is seen in the north side of the rotunda of the mausoleum of Saint Helena at SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana.

2. The annular aisle

a) The colonnade

The annular aisle which envelops the central rotunda is 9 m. wide and is bounded externally by a second annular colonnade (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 159, 160, 167, 168). While the inner colonnade is trabeated and continuous, this outer colonnade is arcaded and subdivided into eight sectors of varying degrees of importance; there are cardinal sectors corresponding with the major and minor axes of the church, and intervening diagonal sectors. Each cardinal sector has four columns and five arches; each diagonal sector has five columns and six arches at a lower level than those of the cardinal sectors; and the eight sectors are separated from one another by eight rectangular brick piers, slightly concave on the inner face in conformity with the curvature of the colonnade. Since the side walls of the four radial chapels which extend out from the aisle meet the wall of the aisle at the eight piers, these are T-shaped in plan; the cross bars of the "T" lie in the line of the circular colonnade while the legs constitute part of the chapel walls and are visible from the outside[1].



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)
Fig. 167. S. Stefano Rotondo. Diaphragm arch, north end pier and enclosed column

b) Foundations and pavements

In 1961 a small test trench was dug against the exterior face of the outer colonnade, exposing the structure of the annular foundation wall in the northwest diagonal sector, and under the T-pier which it shares with the west sector. About 1.70 m. below present floor level the masonry foundation wall rests on a footing of cast concrete; this presumably goes down to natural rock, although our excavation was not deep enough for it to be seen. The lower courses of the built wall are irregular *opus listatum*; then, after laying a course of large unhewn tufa lumps



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)
Fig. 168. S. Stefano Rotondo. View of ambulatory, showing arcades, north and northeast sectors

[1] See below, pp. 214 f. and passim.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 169a. S. Stefano Rotondo. Foundation wall of ambulatory, northwest sector, and (right edge) of T-pier



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 169b. S. Stefano Rotondo. Foundation wall of ambulatory, northwest sector, and T-pier



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 169c. S. Stefano Rotondo. Foundation wall of ambulatory, west chapel, and (left hand) T-pier



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 170. S. Stefano Rotondo. Column of ambulatory, south chapel, from exterior



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 171. S. Stefano Rotondo. South chapel, marble pavement and column base in ambulatory colonnade



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 172. S. Stefano Rotondo. Southeast sector, mosaic pavement

about 0.16 m. high, the masons used brick alone for sixteen courses, with a modulus of 5 courses per R. ft. (figs. 169 *a*, *b*, *c*). The bricks are small and uneven, the mortar beds are without pointing and the coursing is somewhat undulant. An unexplained anomaly is that, above ground level the brick structure of the T-pier is homogeneous, while the foundations of the colonnade seem to have been built at first as a plain circle, without provision for the leg of the "T" (figs. 169 *b*, *c*). Moreover the annular stylobate wall was built mainly of coursed brickwork, while the foundation of the spur is composed of coarse lumps of tufa set in cement or possibly cast as concrete into an excavated trench. To judge by the single specimen excavated, it would seem that the ra-

dial walls were added as an afterthought to a plan which was originally intended to be purely circular. Nevertheless, as the superstructure brickwork in the legs and heads of the T-shaped piers is perfectly integral, the change of plan was evidently made at a very early stage.

As reported above[1], the original marble pavement has been found, 38 cm. below the latest, presumably sixteenth century pavement. It has been traced in the intercolumniations of the main colonnade from where it extends both into the central area and the annular aisle. A second pavement, presumably medieval, was found at a higher level, only 10 cm. above the original one. Finally, probably in the sixteenth century, the older pavements were removed and a concrete pavement was placed on earth fill, flush with the column plinths.

Likewise, in the circuit of the outer colonnade the remains of early, probably original, pavements are preserved, covered by the later walls which seal up the intercoluniations. In the west part of the south sector, 0.20 m. below present floor level, the early pavement consists of rectangular slabs of white marble about 3 cm. thick (pl. XIII; figs. 170, 171); while, near the middle of the south east diagonal sector at approximately the same level, the pavement is composed of very large white marble tesserae (fig. 172). We might at this point anticipate as well that the columns of the outer colonnade, like those of the main colonnade, rest on travertine baseblocks of different height and thus rise from varying levels above the original pavements.

Following the circuit of the outer colonnade we note the features of each sector in turn. In general the exterior face of the colonnade, much of which is exposed, is more informative than the interior because the latter is almost entirely coated with plaster and paintings.

3. The outer sectors

a) The east chapel

We briefly start with the east chapel but will return to it at length (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 156, 159, 183, 185, 186). The four columns of the east sector still constitute the entrance to the only surviving radial chapel; consequently the two central column shafts are free-standing, while the outer pair is only partly enveloped in the masonry of the partitions of the lateral sacristies (fig. 163 *a*). The columns are Corinthian, with unfluted grey granite shafts and marble bases and capitals, and are surmounted by impost blocks of marble decorated with crosses in relief on their front and rear faces. The leaves of the capitals are strongly modeled in high relief but the foliage is without serration (fig. 173). The height of the columns from the floor to the top of the pulvins is 6.65 m. (22½ R. ft.). The five semicircular arches which rise from the pulvins are neatly constructed of radially set sesquipedals. The south or right brick pier of the east sector is 1.86 m. wide at the base but is reduced to 1.66 m. by a setback in its left face 1 m. above floor level. At a height of 6.65 m. above floor level the flank of the pier runs into the intrados of the east sector arch without a set back. On the other side of the pier the intrados of the first arch of the southeast diagonal sector is set back a few centimeters behind the right hand jamb of the pier, 5.26 m. above floor level; this jamb is vertical from the floor to the springing of the archivolt, as are the sides of all the other piers between the eight sectors of the outer colonnade.

[1] See above, p. 209.

b) The southeast sector

The southeast diagonal sector communicates with the annular aisle through five Ionic columns and six arches. The first two intercolumniations are open and form the entrance to the eighteenth century chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, while the other four archways are sealed with blocking walls which we take to be Romanesque. A mosaic pavement of large tesserae projects from the annular colonnade into the area of the sector (fig. 172). The granite column shafts, 4.10 to 4.15 m. in length, were apparently found to be too short, and to raise them to the required level, travertine base blocks 40 to 45 cm. high were inserted beneath each base much as those in the main colonnade. Originally the blocks may have been concealed by marble revetment (figs. 170, 171). The side of each column shaft facing the center of the church is perforated by a square mortice hole, 2.80 m. above floor level; they may have served for the attachment of lamp brackets. The marble Ionic capitals, rather crudely carved and probably from the same workshop as those of the central colonnade, although less carefully made, are surmounted by cymoid impost blocks, some marble, others travertine (figs. 168, 174 *a*, *b*, *c*; 176). Over these, thin horizontal slabs of marble project a few centimeters from the external wall face at the base of the archivolts (fig. 177); they are evidently intended to support a marble plating which formerly revetted the intrados and spandrels of



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 173. S. Stefano Rotondo. Corinthian capital of east chapel



(Photo: Malmstrom)

Fig. 174*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and impost blocks ambulatory, north sector, from inside



(Photo: Malmstrom)

Fig. 174*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital and impost blocks, ambulatory, northeast sector, from inside



(Photo: Malmstrom)

Fig. 174*c*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Capital, impost block and arches, ambulatory, southwest sector, from outside

the arcade. The arches are built of radially set brick voussoirs which interleave at the springing. Plug holes for securing the revetment are found in the exterior face of the T-pier, archivolts and spandrels (fig. 175*a*) as far up as, but not beyond, the horizontal scar of a band of concrete, lightened with hollow terracotta tubes (figs. 176, 177, 179). The band of tubes is 0.50 m. high, and its base lies 2.20 m. above the impost of the arcade and about 9.28 m. above the extrados of the archivolts. It appears to be a horizontal channel formed in the brick-faced wall by the omission of six or seven brick courses; the channel was then filled with concrete into which small upright vase-shaped tubes, ranged close together in vertical lines, were inserted. At the south end of the sector the band turns at right angles and continues at the same level and without any visible curve in the leg of



(Photo: Krautheimer)

a) Southeast sector, T-pier toward south chapel, east face



(Photo: Krautheimer)

b) South chapel, perimeter wall



(Photo: Krautheimer)

c) West chapel, T-pier toward northwest sector, south face



(Photo: Krautheimer)

d) West chapel, perimeter wall



(Photo: Krautheimer)

e) West chapel, perimeter wall, dividing pier toward southwest sector, north face



(Photo: Krautheimer)

f) West chapel, perimeter wall, dividing pier toward southwest sector, south and east faces



(Photo: Malmstrom)

g) Southwest sector, T-pier toward west chapel, from south



(Photo: Krautheimer)

h) North chapel, T-pier toward northwest sector, from north



(Photo: Malmstrom)

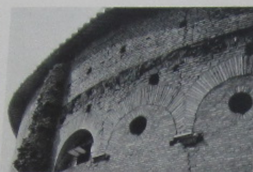
i) West chapel, T-pier toward southwest sector, from west

Fig. 175. S. Stefano Rotondo. Samples of brickwork and marble plugs



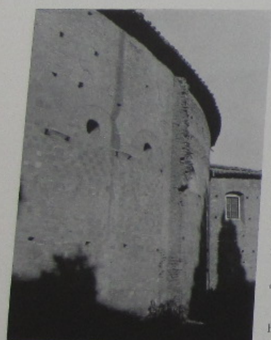
(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 176. S. Stefano Rotondo. Southeast sector, bases and impost blocks of columns and arches toward ambulatory



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 177. S. Stefano Rotondo. Southeast sector, arches toward ambulatory, band of concrete with terra cotta tubes and (left hand) T-pier toward south chapel



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 178. S. Stefano Rotondo. Arcades of south chapel and T-pier toward southeast sector

the T-pier until the masonry is broken off (fig. 177). Presumably it does the same at the east end of the sector, but here it is concealed by the roof and vaulting of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul. The purpose of the tubular construction is problematical; it indicates that a feature of light weight was attached to the wall at this level, but the form of this feature is far from certain [1]. Above the tubular band the annular wall rises almost to the eaves of the aisle roof in neatly laid brickwork with the usual modulus of 4 to 4½ courses per R. ft. In this zone there are no signs of marble attachments, but 0.70 m. above the tube band a horizontal row of rectangular holes appears in the brick wall face. The holes are spaced approximately 1 m. apart, and the smallest are formed within a single brick course merely by setting two bricks further apart than usual; others have probably been enlarged for the attachment of later scaffolding.

c) The south sector

The arcading of the south sector is slightly higher than that of the southeast sector but considerably lower than that of the east sector; indeed, its archivolts spring approximately 5.60 m. above the present floor as compared with 5.26

[1] See below, p. 234.

m. in the southeast and 6.65 m. in the east sector. Like the other cardinal sectors, however, the south sector has four columns and five arches, and to emphasize the transverse axis the middle arch is stilted so that it rises about 20 cm. higher than the arches to either side (pl. XIII). The archivolts as usual are made with radially set 45 cm. sesquipedals. The two T-piers which define the sector show externally brickwork with level coursing of varying thickness, the modulus being 4 to 5 courses per R. ft. On both the right and left faces of the T-piers, the springing of a segmental arch is visible; the arch apparently continued radially to the circular wall of the ambulatory for an unknown but evidently short distance (fig. 178; see also fig. 177, left bottom). Occasional fixing plugs show that the T-piers were revetted with marble plating up to the level of the arcade; above that level the south sector had no external marble revetment, though the part of the T-pier which belongs to the adjacent southeast sector shows signs of marble plating to a higher level (fig. 175 *a*). Instead of marble plating, the intrados of the south sector arcading, the exterior face of the archivolts and the spandrels above them were revetted in stucco. A small quantity of the stucco remains *in situ* on the outside face of the curved wall, including fragments of decorated corona moldings which outline the juncture of intrados and archivolt in two of the arches (fig. 177; see also fig. 180). The horizontal band of concrete with tubes, noted in the diagonal sector, does not appear here. Of the four columns in the south sector, the middle pair have fluted shafts, while the lateral pair are unfluted; all have square holes for bracket attachments as described before and all support Ionic capitals and cymoid impost blocks of marble, the latter without crosses. A pavement of marble slabs, rather than the mosaic pavement seen in the southeast sector, projects from the colonnade of the annular aisle into the sector[1] (figs. 170, 171). Again, the columns are placed on base blocks of travertine which rest on the circular foundation wall and raise the column plinths from 12 to as much as 35 cm. above the original pavement level.

d) The southwest sector

The southwest sector resembles the southeast sector in opening into the aisle with six arches carried by five granite-shafted Ionic columns with travertine pulvins; the arches spring, as before, 0.30 m. lower than the arcade of the south sector. Again, to compensate for the insufficient length of the shafts, the column bases are raised on top of rough base blocks which presumably were originally hidden by marble revetment. Unlike the southeast sector, the outside faces of the T-piers are not pitted with mortice holes for marble revetment, nor do these traces occur on the face of the archivolts; at any rate, this is true of the part of the face that is visible. Indeed, the upper zone is hidden by a coat of plaster, evidently later in date than the Romanesque walls which block several of the openings of this sector (fig. 179). The external wall face above the arcading is interrupted by a band of tubular concrete exactly as in the southeast sector and, above it, at the same level as before, we find a horizontal row of sockets in the brickwork; these are spaced a little closer together and are rather larger than the ones previously described. At the west end the tubular band turns and follows the projecting T-pier leg, but it does not continue into the cardinal sector. No doubt it formerly did likewise at the south end; but the pier has now been cut down below the level in question. Like its counterpart at the south end of the sector, the western T–pier also shows the springing of a segmental arch, 6.50 m. above ground level and surmounting the empty seating of a lintel; and while the south face of the pier below this springing is built to be seen, it is broken

[1] See above, pp. 209, 215.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 179. S. Stefano Rotondo. Westernmost arcade of southwest sector, T-pier and arcades of west chapel with Romanesque apse

off above that level at a point which leaves no doubt that the T-pier at that height continued as a wall, carried at its beginning by the segmental arch (figs. 175 *g, i*; 178, 179).

In the garden, about 4 m. southwest of the central column of this sector, the extrados of a subterranean vault is found a few centimeters below ground level, that is, some 10 cm. below the floor level of the church. It has not been excavated and is full of earth which has entered through a fissure in the summit of the vault; but it appears to be the remains of an underground cistern.

e) The west sector

Continuing around the annular colonnade, in the west sector four columns and five arches are disposed symmetrically about the principal axis of the church (fig. 179). The height of the impost level above the floor, 6.55 m., does not quite equal that of the east sector, 6.65 m., but, whereas the latter has unfluted granite shafts and unserrated acanthus capitals, the four western columns are an antique set with fluted shafts of white marble and richly decorated matching capitals and bases. The marble pulvins above the capitals are decorated inside and out with embossed crosses. Like most of the openings in the outer colonnade, the two lateral archways on each side of the central one in the west sector are sealed with Romanesque masonry and in this way the revetment of the intrados has been preserved; it is stucco, like that of the south sector, decorated at the edge of the archivolt with a molded corona (fig. 180). Above, traces of the smooth stucco wall revetment continue up almost to the eaves of the present aisle roof (fig. 179). Since this part of the wall face was revetted with stucco, no mortice holes for marble are to be expected, and none exist above the level of the impost. Below that level, on the other hand, the external face of the T-pier brickwork on both sides of the cardinal sector displays symmetrically arranged plug holes (figs. 175*e, g, i*).



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 180. S. Stefano Rotondo. West chapel, arches with stucco moldings

While the four lateral archways of the west sector are blocked with Romanesque walls following the curve of the colonnade, the central opening is closed by a small brick apse which is probably also of Romanesque date (pl. XII; figs. 161, 179).

f) The northwest sector

The next segment, the northwest sector, corresponds with the two other diagonal sectors already described; it has short-shafted Ionic columns elevated on travertine base blocks, and arcading which springs at a level considerably below the arches of the west sector and slightly below those of the north sector (fig. 181). As an illustration of the inconsistent nature of the workmanship throughout the church we may note that two of the archivolts in this sector are built with bipedal voussoirs whereas all other archivolts observed are of sesquipedals. Plug holes show that the T-piers were revetted on the outside with marble from the floor to the impost of the arches, but there is no trace of marble on the spandrels of the arcade. The tubular concrete band and the row of sockets in the brickwork above are, in all respects, exactly as described in the other diagonal sectors. The intercolumniations are blocked with later walls, presumably Romanesque. At a comparatively recent period the shafts seem to have been readjusted by cutting out the contiguous Romanesque masonry (working externally so that the internal wall face was not touched) and revolving the drums, probably in order to conceal certain imperfections by turning them outward (fig. 181). In the process the base blocks of the two westernmost columns were removed, and these units now stand abnormally low. The damaged filling walls were rebuilt in rubble masonry which might date from the time of Nicholas V. Recently two of these repair patches have been removed and the displaced columns once more exposed; a thirteenth century inscription which appears on one of the shafts must originally have been turned toward the interior.



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 181. S. Stefano Rotondo. Northwest sector, showing reversed columns

g) The north sector

Externally the north sector is partly hidden by a wing of the convent, although its middle arch and the two to the west are visible from the garden (fig. 182), and all five arches can be seen internally (fig. 168). Only the western T-pier is visible externally; it shows the usual springing of a segmental arch with a neat face below and a broken projecting end above. It has mortice holes for marble revetment on its northeast face, but there are none in the spandrels of the arcade. The four columns are of grey marble and equal in height those of the south sector. Their Ionic capitals are a little more elaborately decorated than those of the diagonal sectors but seem likely to come from the same workshop; they support marble impost blocks without crosses (fig. 174*a*). The five archivolts are all of equal height, differing in this respect from the south sector. No corona molding survives, but the spandrels and the wall above are coated with large areas of plaster which may be ancient; at any rate it does not extend across the Romanesque filling walls and therefore seems likely to be earlier than them (fig. 182).



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 182. S. Stefano Rotondo. View from east showing drum and north sector

k) The northeast sector

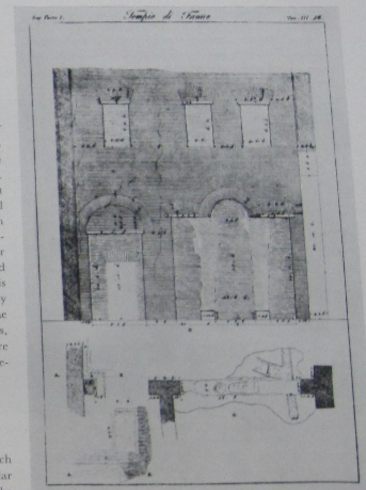
Finally, the northeast diagonal sector comprises the usual five granite columns and six arches, but in this instance the shafts are long enough to dispense with base blocks (figs. 168, 178). Two columns are hidden inside the marble work of the twin doorways which were erected by Nicholas V in 1453 at the south end of his vestibule[1]. Three of the arches retain the original marble revetment of the intrados, held in position by the later filling of the archways; and, since the marble plates protrude 4 or 5 cm. internally beyond the vertical wall face, they prove that the vertical interior spandrels of the annular arcade were also originally reveted with marble plating.

l) The blocking walls

In the majority of cases the walls which block the intercolumniations of the outer colonnade are built in coursed brickwork (figs. 177, 180, 181); but occasionally the brickwork is interspersed with blocks of tufa and other material arranged in a checkerboard pattern (figs. 176, 178, 179). The walls, 0.45 m. thick, are slightly curved in plan to conform with the curvature of the colonnade and are set flush with the outer wall face of the arcades; the columns, the piers and the outline of the arches thus appear internally as shallow niches. For the illumination of the annular aisle small circular windows were left in the lunette of each blocked arch, framed by small bricks, as was customary in Romanesque construction in Rome (figs. 168, 176, 177, 178, 179). A few of the lunettes were subsequently reopened to create larger semicircular windows. At the center of the west sector, as already stated, the axial intercolumniation is closed by an apsidal exedra. This is built of plain brickwork in a modulus of 5 courses per R. ft., with very large square scaffold holes and a saw-tooth cornice, all features which indicate the Romanesque period. Where the apse meets the filling walls of the adjacent arcades it is clear that it is later than the checkerboard masonry, but

[1] See above, p. 206 and dig. 1452-1454, a.

it need not be much later (fig. 179). Filling walls which are not Romanesque are found in the northeast sector, flanking the convent courtyard, and we presume that these four intercolumniations were probably rebuilt or, at any rate, refaced in the time of Nicholas V. Another exception is seen in the two middle arches of the southwest sector. Here the blocking is straight in plan and built of very small irregular bricks mixed with fragments of marble in a coursing modulus of 6 courses per R. ft. with raked, unpointed mortar beds. Their date is unknown but it is probably late, since the paintings of the interior are not Pomarancio's, but seem by their style more likely to date fron the nineteenth century.



(Valadier and Camus, op. cit., pl. 11; 14 cm × 18

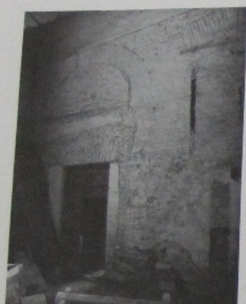
Fig. 183. S. Stefano Rotondo. Valadier, Elevation, interior face, south wall of east chapel, and (bottom) plan of east wall of north chapel and earlier finds

4. The east chapel

Of the four chapels which radiated from the annular aisle on the cross axes of the circular building, only the east chapel remains. It was reduced in sizeb y partitioning off chambers to either side, but the basic structure is easily distinguishable from that which has been added. The three central arches of the east sector of the outer annular colonnade still open into the chapel, while the outer intercolumniations to right and left are blocked by the end walls of the two chambers of later date (pl. XII; figs. 159, 163 *a*). The original lateral walls of the chapel are seen internally in these two side chambers (figs. 183; 184 *a*, *b*; see also pl. XIII).

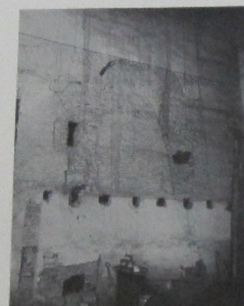
Instead of being set at right angles to the annular colonnade (i. e., radially with respect to the circular plan of the church), the chapel side walls are slightly canted towards the axis, thus effecting a sort of compromise in plan between parallel sides and the acutely cuneiform shape that would result if the walls had been set out as true radii. The effect of this distortion must have been to make the chapel look slightly deeper than it really is. Today, the features of the lower part of the south wall remain exactly as drawn by Valadier (fig. 183), while the

upper story is concealed by plaster. There were originally four openings at ground level; to the left, a single rectangular doorway stands close to the perimeter wall of the church; to the right, three taller openings are grouped together in the manner of a " Palladian arch " — an archway flanked by narrower openings with flat timber lintels surmounted by segmental relieving arches; the three openings are now walled up with Romanesque masonry and the col-



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 184*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. South wall of east chapel, interior face, door with relieving arch, pier and (right) beginning of triple arcade



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 184*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. South wall of east chapel, interior face, triple arcade

umns on which the arch formerly rested have been removed; but their travertine base blocks still exist. The timber lintels, strengthened by shallow brick relieving arches, are 4.80 m. above floor level and the overall breadth of the triple opening is 5.44 m. The right hand brick-jamb on which one of the timber lintels rests is the leg of the T-pier in the annular colonnade, and it is obvious that it corresponds to the T-piers seen on the outside, including the segmental arches which spring from them (figs. 184 *a*, *b*). The original doorway in the left part of the wall is 2.40 m. wide and 3.97 m. high, and is spanned by a timber beam, 0.10 m. thick and surmounted by a semi-circular relieving arch of sesquipedals. In the upper story of this wall Valadier noted three walled-up rectangular windows, one over the doorway and two over the triple arch, all of nearly the same height, 2.00 m., though different in width, varying from 1.18 m. to 1.30 m. As with the other openings, the timber lintels were spanned by segmental brick relieving arches. The masonry of the original wall resembles that already noted in the T-piers of the outer colonnade, with horizontal coursing in a modulus of about 4½ courses per R. ft. and an occasional tendency to use *tufelli* in place of bricks. In pointing the horizontal mortar beds the bricklayer held his trowel at an angle so that the mortar face overhangs slightly, and a few millimeters of the upper surface of each brick is exposed. The northern side wall of the chapel has the same features. The triple opening in the

part nearest the annular aisle and the doorway adjacent to the perimeter wall have been partly exposed in Nicholas V's sacristy by the removal of plaster revetment; the masonry which blocks up the original openings has the characteristic *falsa cortina* pointing of the Romanesque period. The three windows in the upper story of the north wall are hidden internally by the decorations of an upper chapel dating from the time of Nicholas V which lies over the sacristy, but their outlines can be seen in an attic chamber over the vault of Nicholas V's vestibule (pl. XIII). Like the windows in Valadier's drawing of the south wall (fig. 183), they are arranged so that one opening is set above the doorway while the other two are set closer together and correspond approximately with the triple arch of the lower story. While the brickwork of the upper story is precisely the same as



(Photo: Parker)

Fig. 185. S. Stefano Rotondo. Exterior, ca. 1870, view from east showing perimeter wall of east chapel and (right hand) entrance portico



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 186. S. Stefano Rotondo. East chapel perimeter wall with apsidiole

already noted in the south wall, at gound level, the pier which divides the doorway from the triple opening is built of *opus listatum* up to a height of 0.94 m. above floor level.

The east wall of the chapel, since it is a segment of the circular perimeter wall of the church, is curved in plan; it is 0.85 m. thick and concentric with the inner rotunda and the annular aisle. Today the chapel is illuminated by a round-headed window with a fifteenth century transenna placed high up at the center of the east wall, while similar windows to either side give light to the partitioned chamber on the right and to the convent chapel above the sacristy to the left (pl. XIII; figs. 185, 186). These fifteenth century openings replace three earlier windows which, together with the three rectangular windows in each of the side walls, evidently constituted the original illumination of the radial chapel. The original central window in the east wall was cross-shaped, while the two flanking windows were circular. From the outside these windows are easily recognizable although filled in with fifteenth century masonry. In the cruciform central window (fig. 186) the overhanging brickwork of the side arms is supported on two long cantilevered timber beams, while the top arm is spanned by another wooden beam, long enough to extend beyond the total width of the lateral arms. The circular flanking windows are framed with radially-set 45 cm. bricks while above each round frame a large ornamental brick cross is let into the horizontal coursing of the brickwork. To the right of one of the circular windows a small brick relieving arch, about 0.50 m. in diameter, is inserted for some unknown reason in the external wall face.

At ground level, directly beneath the cross-shaped window, a small apse opens in the east wall of the radial chapel (fig. 186). It is 3.80 m. wide internally and 5.15 m. high from the pavement to the apex of the vault. The vault is decorated with a mosaic representing Saints Primus and Felicianus standing on either side of a *crux gemmata*; at the springing runs the mosaic inscription of Pope Theodore (642-49)[1]. The apse wall is plastered inside and out, but the removal of a panel of the external revetment has shown unquestionably that the structure is an addition to the masonry of the main perimeter wall; not bonded to the main wall, only 0.60 m. thick and thus thinner than the latter, the apse is built of rather irregular brickwork constructed in a modulus of 4 courses per R. ft., interspersed with occasional courses of *tufelli* (fig. 187). It is not certain whether this apse takes the place of an earlier doorway or whether the original wall had to be broken through when the apse was built, but the latter alternative seems more probable since there were other doorways quite close to the site of the apse.

5. **The perimeter wall**

The east wall of the radial chapel is part of the circular perimeter wall which originally continued right around the church and which still exists almost intact in its lower portions. But while the part of the perimeter wall which coincides with the rear wall of the chapel rises 11 m. above the present floor, the parts which skirt the diagonal sectors of the circular plan are much lower,



(Photo: Malmstrom)

Fig. 187. S. Stefano Rotondo. Perimeter wall of east chapel (left) and juncture of seventh century absidiole (right)



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 188. S. Stefano Rotondo. East wall of east chapel (right hand) and perimeter wall of southeast diagonal sector, separated by vertical fissure

standing only 6.10 m. high. Accordingly, a perpendicular arris is seen externally at the point where the south wall of the chapel intersects the perimeter wall and rises above the perimeter wall of the adjoining southeast diagonal sector (fig. 188). The wall has been heightened in the construction of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, but the original elevation is distinguishable by variations in the texture of the brickwork. The original southeast corner of the east chapel is marked by a

[1] See above, dig. 642-649; also, De Rossi, *Musaici*, p. 2; Mâle, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 257 ff.; Waetzold, *Kopien*, p. 76.

perpendicular arris in the masonry (fig. 188; to the left of the rain-pipe), which terminates at the summit of the perimeter wall in the diagonal sector, 6.10 m. above floor level. At the northeast corner, the side of the east chapel is defined externally by a similar arris rising vertically to the eaves from a point in the perimeter wall at the same level (fig. 189), but the true base of the arris is obscured by a large hole in the original masonry. The brickwork to the right of the arris, and an arched window with a cornice about 3 m. below the sill, are Romanesque and probably represent



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 189. S. Stefano Rotondo. East chapel, northeast corner (marked by arris right of rain pipe)



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 190. S. Stefano Rotondo. Northernmost entrance to southeast sector, showing wooden lintel, relieving arch and later blocking.

the lower story of a former campanile. The remains of another window of the campanile are discernible internally in a wall which stands at right angles to the window seen here.

Returning to the south side of the east chapel and following the circuit of the perimeter wall to the left, we note the various features in succession. The original summit of the wall in the southeast diagonal sector, coincident with the base of the perpendicular arris (fig. 188), is marked by a particularly thick horizontal mortar joint. Above follow about ten courses of brickwork not unlike the original wall but more undulant and apparently set in weaker mortar which, in disintegrating, has caused the coursing to be more accentuated. This zone terminates in an uneven line, and above it rises the eighteenth century brickwork of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul. At a distance 4.60 m. south of the side wall of the east chapel, the perimeter wall is pierced by a doorway, 3.06 m. wide and 3.30 m. high; it is unquestionably a feature of the original building. The opening is spanned by a horizontal timber lintel 0.12 m. thick and surmounted by a semicircular relieving arch, in the tympanum of which an ornamental cross is executed in brickwork (figs. 188, 190). The doorway is sealed with masonry which includes numerous fragments of wrought marble and brickwork tooled in the *falsa cortina* pointing characteristic of the Romanesque period. Subsequently, a narrower doorway, or window, with a segmental arch was broken through the Romanesque masonry and then walled up again in turn (fig. 190). Continuing to the southwest, inside the garden which is bounded to the right by the circular perimeter wall and to the left by the walled-up outer annular colonnade, 13 m. from the doorway just described, the perimeter wall contains the remains of a second blocked doorway. It is the same width as the first and presumably originally had the same height, though the wall no longer stands high enough for the lintel to be preserved. The distance that intervenes between this doorway and the north-south cross axis of the rotunda is the same as that which separates the first doorway from the east-west axis. Hence, the two doorways are symmetrically disposed in the southeast quadrant of the circular

plan (pl. XII). Nevertheless, although the second doorway corresponds with the first one in size and location, the masonry which blocks it is quite different. In the first doorway, the *falsa cortina* blocking indicates that the opening remained in use for many centuries before being closed. On the other hand, the blocking of the second doorway is very similar to the brickwork of the perimeter wall itself; hence this doorway became disused at an early period; or possibly it was never used at all, and was sealed up while the church was still in course of construction. The blocking wall is thinner than the perimeter wall, so that the embrasure of the doorway now forms a shallow niche on the inner face.

The curved perimeter wall in which the two doorways stand is based on concrete foundations composed of large lumps of unhewn red tufa mixed with occasional fragments of marble or travertine. The surface of this foundation material lies less than 0.20 m. beneath the level of the mosaic pavement, which is visible at the base of the outer annular colonnade on the opposite side of the garden (fig. 172). Above the concrete a single footing course of brick projects a few centimeters in front of the regular wall face; internally the footings must have lain directly beneath the paving material. Above rises the brick-faced perimeter wall, 0.80 m. thick, with a modulus varying from 4 to 5 courses per R. ft. and pointed, as noted before, with oblique overhanging trowel strokes. Except for the portion of wall which is incorporated in the rear wall of the chapel of Saints Stephen and Paul, the early masonry of the southeast sector of the perimeter rises only 1.5 m. above the foundations; the upper part of the wall is modern. In the surviving zone of original masonry there is no sign that the wall was formerly plated with marble as were the T-piers and spandrels of the annular arcade opposite.

At a distance of 4.52 m. west of the second blocked doorway, the inner face of the perimeter wall shows the scar of a cross wall, 0.60 m. thick, which formerly joined it more or less at right angles. The scar stands directly opposite the leg of the T-pier in the outer annular colonnade which defines the east side of the south cardinal sector. It is clear that these are the two extremities of the east wall of the former south radial chapel. The shallow segmental relieving arch contained in the T-pier (figs. 177, 178) and the seating of what must have been a timber lintel leave no doubt that these features spanned one of the narrow openings of a triple arch similar to the ones which still exist in the east chapel (fig. 183). Moreover, the ragged break higher up on the T-pier makes it clear that an upper wall has broken away; presumably it was pierced by rectangular windows like those in the east chapel. The west side of the south chapel is represented in precisely the same way as the east side, by the projecting leg of the T-pier and a scar in the perimeter wall where the other end of the side wall was formerly attached; this latter, however, is barely visible at the base of the wall, which has been rebuilt in its upper part. The distance between the two side wall scars, 20.70 m. measured on the chord, is less than it would be if the side walls had been truly radial with regard to the circular plan of the church; apparently as in the east chapel, the south chapel walls were canted toward the axis to give the illusion of greater depth. Although it is broken down to a low level, the sector of the perimeter wall which constituted the south or rear wall of the south chapel is traceable throughout its whole length and allows us to establish with complete certainty that there was never any doorway or apse. On the other hand, peg holes still filled with marble plugs and the remains of metal cramps indicate an internal marble revetment at least 0.45 m. high on this sector of the concave wall face (fig. 175*b*).

In the southwest diagonal sector of the perimeter, the original brickwork is seen for a height of about 1.5 m. above ground level in the garden, since the soil lies some 0.25 m. below the church floor level. There is no sign of marble revetment. As in the southeast sector, the perimeter wall was pierced by two doorways, each about 3 m. wide and 4.80 m. distant from the scars of the side walls of the vanished radial chapels which bounded the sector to east and north. Both jambs survive in the more southerly of the two openings, while in the other doorway the northern jamb is lost. The masonry which seals the south doorway is thinner than the perimeter wall, creating a shallow recess; that of the other opening is equal in thickness with the perimeter wall. While the modulus of the perimeter wall is 4 courses per R. ft., the blocking wall of the south opening is finer and more irregular, reaching a modulus of 6 courses in one place. The date when these doorways were blocked remains uncertain, but the style of the brickwork and mortar suggest Early Christian construction. Midway between the doorways the original brick face of the perimeter wall, which survives in general at the base, has been destroyed for a short space, leaving a ragged hole 0.80 m. wide. Above the low zone of original masonry the curved wall of the southwest sector has been rebuilt as a row of shallow rectangular niches, each niche about 1.5 m. wide and 0.30 m. deep. Constructed in brickwork which seems to belong to the fifteenth century or later, this element should probably be considered in conjunction with the features facing it in the walled-up outer colonnade, where, it will be remembered, plaster revetment covers both the original arcading and the Romanesque blocking walls [1], while the brickwork which seals the middle pair of arches is relatively modern. Taken together, these facts lead us to conjecture that, in the Renaissance or Baroque period, a complex was formed in this part of the church, bounded externally by the southwest perimeter wall and the niches and entered from the annular aisle through the central pair of arches of the southwest diagonal sector, which were then open. The two arches may have opened immediately into a side chapel containing some family tomb; indeed, there are in the garden where the chapel would have stood traces of an underground vault such as is often provided for burials. On the other hand, it is also possible that the vault is a relic of an earlier, perhaps original, feature [2]. The chapel which we envisage seems to be still depicted in Falda's plan of Rome of 1676 [3].



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 191. S. Stefano Rotondo. Perimeter wall of west chapel (left) and northwest sector (right) and dividing wall pier

As in the south chapel, the side walls of the west chapel are represented at one end by the projecting legs of the T-piers (fig. 179) and, at the opposite end, by traces of their intersection with the perimeter wall. Once again the sides of the chapel are canted to increase the apparent depth of the chamber. In this instance the junctions with the perimeter are represented by rectangular brick piers (figs. 178*c*, *e*, *f*; 191). These are 0.61 m. wide and project 0.41 m. from the concave wall; their faces, worked to be seen, were apparently the jambs of doors which opened in the chapel side walls close to the perimeter, precisely as in the east chapel (fig. 183). The perimeter wall contained no openings except that, half way between the two side walls, the concave wall face is interrupted by a shallow excision of the brick surface about 1 m. wide, 1.80 m. high and 0.20 m. deep. It

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[1] See above, p. 224 f.

[2] See below, p. 235.

[3] Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, Rome 1962, III, pl. CLVIII, 3, fig. 360.

is evidently a secondary alteration to the original structure, and it might be considered negligible, were it not located precisely on the center line of the church; as it is, it seems to indicate that a small niche or apse was formed at some time in the west wall of the west chapel. On each side of the niche the curved west wall is freely sprinkled with plug holes for the attachment of marble revetments up to its full surviving height of about 4.5 m. (figs. 175 *c*, *d*, *f*).

The northwest quarter of the church (fig. 191) once more shows the usual features of a diagonal sector: the perimeter wall is constructed of the usual brickwork and devoid of marble revetment plug holes; and two doorways, 3.11 m. and 3.15 m. wide, are set at equal distances from the sides of the adjacent radial chapels. Both these openings are walled up with brickwork coursed like the perimeter wall itself, except for the occasional use of a course of *tufelli* in place of bricks. The filling walls are recessed to create shallow niches 0.20 m. deep in the internal wall face. At the northerly of these two doorways the perimeter wall still stands to a sufficient height for the original timber lintel and semicircular brick relieving arch to be preserved; they are exactly the same as those already noted at the southeast diagonal sector (fig. 190); but they are visible only from outside because the interior wall face is partly masked by a wash house belonging to the convent and partly destroyed by a secondary doorway through which the garden is now entered (pl. XII; fig. 157). A small trench, dug in 1960 to expose the inner footings of the perimeter wall midway between the two doorways (figs. 192*a*, *b*), showed that a foundation wall of roughly faced concrete stands forward 0.34 m. in front of the wall face, immediately below the original floor level of the church. This foundation wall rests on a bed of trench-cast concrete at a depth of 1.15 m. below floor level. Almost exactly halfway between the two doorways of the northwest sector, the foundation wall is intersected by a channel, 0.42 m. wide, which originally rose from the concrete foundation bed to the level of the church floor, while above that level, the channel is spanned by a small brick relieving arch built into the structure of the perimeter wall (figs. 192*a*, *b*). Although the original aperture existed only below floor level, it was subsequently heightened to the intrados of the relieving arch and is now visible above the surface of the garden.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 192*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Northwest sector, drain through perimeter wall



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 192*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Northwest sector, drain through perimeter wall

The west wall of the north chapel, which forms the east boundary of the northeast diagonal sector, is hidden by the wash house at the point where it joins the perimeter wall, but it is represented at the south end by the usual T-pier leg in the annular colonnade. The foundations of this wall as they proceed north from the T-pier were excavated by Valadier (fig. 183, lower part) and were again examined by the present writers in 1960. Our trench revealed the foundations of the wall following the usual slightly non-radial alignment peculiar to the side walls of the four radiating chapels; it is a rough baulk of trench-cast concrete about 0.70 m. wide with its upper surface about 0.33 m. below the original floor level (figs. 193*a*, *b*). The traces of a column base, which Valadier seems to have seen (fig. 183), have now been destroyed; but at a distance of 5.50 m.

from the north face of the T-pier leg we discovered three brick courses from the base of the opposite jamb of the triple opening, rising from the top of the foundation baulk. The concrete baulk oversails an antecedent Roman brick wall, noted already by Valadier[1]. The other wall which Valadier shows on his plan, at right angles to the chapel side wall and thus concentric with the circle of the church, exists incorporated in the side of the wash house (fig. 193*c*). Its concave southeast face is 4.20 m. from the inner face of the perimeter wall and 6.20 m. from the exterior face of the annular colonnade. The thickness of the wall was not ascertainable; but there is no reason to doubt Valadier's accuracy in showing it as a little less thick than the chapel side wall (0.62 m.). The curved wall is based on trench-cast concrete foundations, 0.33 m. below the original floor level, and is integral with the foundations of the contiguous chapel wall. Rising from this substructure the original fabric of the curved wall, embedded in the flank of the wash house, now stands at least 0.70 m. high, that is 0.37 m. above the former floor level). It extends toward the southwest for a distance of 5.45 m. from its intersection with the chapel side wall; this is a greater distance than Valadier shows. Within this interval the curved wall is built principally of brick with a modulus of 5 courses per R. ft.; an occasional course of *tufelli* is substituted for brick, as was apparently the custom of the builders (fig. 193*c*). The pointing is executed in the same manner as noted elsewhere, with overhanging oblique trowel strokes. It is clear that there were no openings at ground level in the 5.45 m. stretch of wall which survives.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 193*a*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Span wall (lower right to upper center) between northwest sector and north chapel, oversailing Roman wall, with springing of apse (lower left), viewed from north, during excavations of 1961



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 193*c*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Northwest sector, curved wall (below wash house) separating outer and inner areas



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 193*b*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Span wall between northwest sector and north chapel, oversailing Roman wall (lower center), and (upper right) leg of T-pier



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 193*d*. S. Stefano Rotondo. Foundation of dividing wall, northeast sector, and wall of drain, excavated in 1959

Apart from the foundations of the left side wall which Valadier excavated, the structure of the north radial chapel is largely concealed within the convent building. Its right side wall is represented today by the west wall of the courtyard, and it is obvious, by comparison with the other parts of the symmetrically planned church, that this courtyard, along with an arcaded loggia which bounds it to the northeast, and the entrance vestibule of Nicholas V, combine to occupy the greater

[1] See above, p. 208.

part of what was formerly the northeast diagonal sector of the circular building. Of the two original doorways in this quadrant of the perimeter wall, one is presumably hidden inside the convent and the other is still used as the principal entrance to the church, albeit disguised by its fifteenth century frame.

The foundation wall of the curved northeast side of the courtyard is continuous from the east flank of the former north chapel to the wall of Nicholas V's vestibule. It is concentric with the church in plan, 0.80 m. thick, 3.10 m. distant from the perimeter wall and 6.20 m. from the annular colonnade; thus it lies on the same circle as the wall which we identified in the wash house in the northwest sector [1]. Presumably the wall continues beneath the floor of the fifteenth century vestibule to terminate against the north flank of the east chapel. An excavation in the area of the Renaissance loggia northeast of the courtyard, undertaken in 1959 by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, exposed a brick built conduit, 0.45 m. wide and of equal depth, a few centimeters below floor level; it traversed the loggia radially with respect to the circular plan of the church and on the center line of the diagonal sector (fig. 193*d*). On meeting the perimeter wall the conduit passes through a narrow opening which resembles the opening in the northwest quadrant already described [2].

F. RECONSTRUCTION

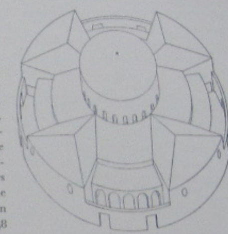
In nearly all respects the general outline of the original church can be reconstructed without difficulty. The plan is a series of three concentric circles, and the perimeter wall, 65.80 m. (223 R. ft.) in overall diameter, encloses three zones. The outer zone is 10.60 m. (36 R. ft.) wide and is divided symmetrically into eight sectors, four cardinal and four diagonal. Originally eight entrances were planned to the church, two in each diagonal sector, but several of these openings were walled up at an early stage and some may never have been used at all. The doorways led into curved passages, parallel with the perimeter wall and extending across the diagonal sectors to open, at either end, into the radial chapels which constitute the four cardinal sectors of the outer zone. The four chapels stood much higher than the roofs of the diagonal sectors so that, within its circular perimeter wall, the church was cruciform. The chapels which faced east and west were made to predominate slightly over those to the north and south.

The inner wall of each radial chapel opens in an arcaded colonnade into the second zone of the circular plan, an annular aisle 9.40 m. (32 R. ft.) wide. This aisle surrounds the central zone and is divided from it by a circular colonnade of 22 Ionic columns supporting a trabeated entablature above which rises the cylindrical wall of the central rotunda. The rotunda is 22.5 m (76 R. ft.) in internal diameter and was approximately the same measurement in height; but the original wall survives only to a height of 21 m. It was illuminated by twenty-two clerestorey windows which opened above the annular aisle roof. It has been plausibly suggested that the ledge which encircles the rotunda internally at the level of the springing of the window arches marks the springing level of a dome, made of cane or some other lightweight material, which was originally intended to crown the rotunda and hide the timbers of the roof, but the project need never have been executed [3]. The radial chapels — to judge by the one preserved — were illuminated by cross-shaped and circular windows in the perimeter walls. In the upper part of the side walls they were lit by rectangular windows looking out over the roofs of the lower intermediate sectors of the outer zone. Both the chapels and the annular aisle were timber roofed [1] and the latter received light only through the colonnades which bordered it on each side.

[1] See above, p. 231.

[2] See above, p. 230.

[3] Deichmann, *op. cit.*, p. 437 ff., referring to a similar suggestion made by Giovannoni, "Volte romane e volte bizantine", *Studi bizantini e neo-ellenici* 6 (1940), p. 136. My rejection of the idea of a dome over the center of S. Stefano (Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 62) referred to a brick or stone dome, but I fully agree with the suggestion that a lightweight dome may have originally been envisaged, though perhaps not executed.



(Drawing: Frankl)
Fig. 194. S. Stefano Rotondo. Frankl, Exterior reconstruction, 1935

Thus far the reconstruction presents no difficulty. The problems arise when we consider the four diagonal sectors of the outer zone which lie between the curved entrance passages and the annular aisle, alternating with radial chapels. Each of these sectors is divided into two concentric compartments by the partition wall first noted by Valadier and seen again in 1960 in the northeast sector, at a distance of 3.58 m. from the inner face of the perimeter wall (pls. XII, XIII; figs. 183, 192 *c*) [2]. There was an outer narrow compartment, bounded by the perimeter wall on the outside and by the partition wall inside, and a larger inner compartment, 6.20 m. deep and adjoining the annular aisle. The outer compartment was apparently an entrance passage; accessible through the two doors in its perimeter wall, it communicated with the radial chapels through the rectangular doors placed close to the ends of their side walls (fig. 183). The partition wall on the fourth side, toward the inner compartment of the sector, certainly contained no doorway within 5.40 m. of the side wall of the chapels. But of course, there may have been a door in the central part, and in any case, the wall may have been pierced above the preserved level of 0.37 m. [3] by window-like openings, presumably carried by piers. On the other hand, the internal compartments opened freely through "Palladian arches" into the chapels at either end and along their inner sides through six arcades into the annular aisle. Also peculiar to these inner compartments is the horizontal band of vase-lightened concrete (*tubi fittili*) which occurs 7.50 m. above floor level in the wall adjoining the annular aisle and on the legs of the T-piers where the lateral walls of the radial chapels start.



(Drawing: Corbett)
Fig. 195. S. Stefano Rotondo. Corbett, Reconstruction, 1961

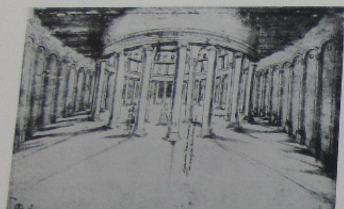
Based on this evidence, the outer compartments have always been envisaged as narrow court-

[1] The reconstruction of a vault over the annular aisle (see for instance Francesco di Giorgio Martini, as cited above, p. 201; but also Colini, *op. cit.*, p. 250) is not tenable.

[2] See above, p. 231.

[3] *Ibid.*

yards from which the chapels and the inner compartments were accessible. The inner compartments, on the other hand, were visualized as closed rooms, accessible from the annular aisle and, via the "Palladian arches", from the chapels, while also communicating with the courtyards through a series of openings in the partition wall [1]. The bands of *tubi fittili* were taken to be the abutment of half barrel vaults, springing from the partition walls and thus covering the inner compartments in their entire depth (fig. 194). The traces of marble and stucco revetments — the former in the radial chapels, the latter in the inner compartments — and their absence in the outer compartments (possibly exposed to weather) seem to support such a reconstruction. While this reconstruction is certainly not to be excluded (and perhaps likely; R.K.), an alternative solution (S.C.) [2] also has to be taken into account. In this, the outer diagonal compartments are seen as roofed vestibules while those adjoining the annular aisle and entered through the "Palladian arches" are envisaged as open courtyards (fig. 195). In many ways such an arrangement would be more logical, since the courtyards are thus fully utilized for admitting light and air to the inner part of the building. (In the other hypothesis, the external passages would have been more useful in this respect had they been open porticoes, but we know this was not the case). Two considerations lend some support to the courtyard theory. First, the strips of *tubi fittili* are not necessarily the remains of vaulting. In vaulting, such vases are always used in horizontal layers rather than vertically as at S. Stefano; hence these bands may well have formed the core of some kind of cornice. In such a role they would be comparable with the fragments of amphorae which were often used in Roman architecture as a background for *opus sectile*, as, for instance, at S. Maria Antiqua [3]. The sockets in the brickwork, 0.70 m. above the vase band, would play a useful part in stabilizing a cornice, either holding metal cramps to hook the cornice back to the wall or else supporting wooden brackets from which the upper part of the cornice was suspended. It is equally significant in this context that water installations have been traced in some of these inner compartments but not in the outer ones. A cistern which may or may not be an original feature of the church lies beneath the northeast compartment, and a water conduit which is certainly original passes under the floor of the adjacent entrance passage, connecting the internal compartment (or the cistern) with the ground outside the church. In the northwest sector, an aperture in the perimeter wall proves that there



(Uffizi, Coll. Santarelli, 161)

Fig. 196. S. Stefano Rotondo. Cronaca, Interior, ca. 1460

[1] Hübsch, *op. cit.*, and also Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 62 ff. However, the partition walls between inner and outer compartments, as it now turns out, cannot have been pierced by rows of openings starting at ground level, but only by rows of windows.

[2] Corbett, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 254 ff.

[3] See above, Vol. II, p. 256, fig. 202.

too a water conduit formerly existed. In the southwest sector the vaulted chamber which still exists beneath the area of the internal compartment may originally have been a cistern, the more so since there is a hole in the perimeter wall where a conduit may once have passed. In the southeast sector, on the other hand, there is no sign of a cistern and no water channel can have existed at the level where it is seen in the other sectors. Hence, in determining the caracter of the four compartments in question, we have to remember that at least two and possibly three of them had some kind of water installation beneath the floor. In consequence, it might be proposed as an alternate solution, to reverse the reconstruction heretofore accepted for the character of the inner compartments in the diagonal sectors and to render the outer passages as roofed vestibules and the inner compartments as open courtyards (fig. 195), thus accounting for the cisterns and channels which would be needed to dispose of rain water and also, it seems, making more logical use of the illumination and ventilation which internal courtyards afford. On the other hand, the decoration leaves no doubt that in contrast to all the other parts of the structure, the outer compartments were left bare and even unpaved, as one would expect of courtyards rather than covered spaces (R.K.).

The bare skeleton of the structure can thus be visualized, although the question of the inner and outer compartments in the diagonal sectors remains open. It is harder to envisage the decoration which covered the entire interior, and yet this decoration was extremely rich. The pavements were composed of marble slabs in the nave, in the annular aisle and in the four main chapels; in the diagonal sectors it consisted, at least in the inner compartments, of a mosaic with very large tesserae. On the walls, fifteenth century visitors still saw the church, "*tecto ... carentem marmoreis columnis et crustatis varii coloris marmore parietibus musinoque* [sic] ..." and, more precisely, "... *con musaico et con tavolette et tondi di porfido et serpentino et con fogliami di nachere et grappoli d'uve et tarsie et altre gentileze*" [1]. A drawing of Cronaca's shows the wall of the center drum from the entablature to the clerestorey articulated by a series of pilasters [2]. Possibly this was a marble and stucco revetment as it survives in traces in large parts of the building; or it was a revetment in *opus sectile* (fig. 195). Indeed, while the annular aisle no longer shows any signs of having been decorated, it must have originally carried a marble revetment above the arcade, for the marble plaques which cover the intrados of the arches opening into the radial chapels project a centimeter or so toward the annular aisle and must have carried vertical plaques of a revetment. Finally, elements of a rich decoration abound both in the radial chapels and in the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors which lie between the chapels. The plug holes of a marble revetment can be traced in three main chapels, and thus presumably existed in all four. It goes up to the level of the arcades, to be followed higher up by elegant stucco moldings along the rim of the arches and by a plaster coating, possibly painted, in the spandrel zone and up to the roof. Conversely, in the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors the marble revetment reaches into the spandrel zone of the arcades and stops only at the mysterious band of *tubi fittili*. On the other hand, no traces of revetment or stucco have been found on the perimeter wall in the diagonal sectors, corresponding to their outer compartments. Correspondingly the pavement of the radial chapels is composed of marble plaques; that of the inner compartments of the diagonal sectors consists of a mosaic with huge tesserae, while no trace of a pavement has been found in the outer compartments of the diagonal sectors. Thus, in contrast to the splendor of the interior, the outer compartments of the diagonal sectors — entrance passages, whether roofed or open to the sky — were apparently unadorned and unpaved.

[1] Biondo, *Roma ristaurata*, 1527, f. 13v; 1543, c. 20; and Rucellai, ed. Perosa, *op. cit.*, p. 73. See also Michele di Bonaiuto, ca. 1419-1431, as quoted in Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, p. 1457: "*Ipsius paries mansit de marmore cultus porfida simul et cariis cum floribus actus et fuit intus cum multis ornati columnis...*".

[2] See above, p. 200.

This overall impression of a splendid decoration of the building in all its essential parts must be kept in mind, the more so since the superficial beholder is apt to think of the structure primarily in terms of a complex maze of bare walls. On the contrary, to the patrons and architects of the late fifth and early sixth centuries, the interlocking of an intricate system of spatial volumes, both roofed and under the open sky, with an equally intricate and colorful decoration was at the basis of the over-all layout.

The details of the design of the marble revetment in the different parts of the structure remain unknown, as do those of the painting of the stucco surfaces, nor is anything known so far regarding the original position of an altar. No trace whatever has been found of a stone altar or a confessio in the center of the building, and the placing at this point of an altar by Gregory XIII proves nothing for the position of the altar in the original church. Indeed, the altar may have stood originally in the east chapel, where it stands now and where in the seventh century the relics of Saints Primus and Felicianus were deposited in a small confessio [1]. At this point the question had best be left open.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The dating of the construction and the decoration of S. Stefano Rotondo could not be simpler. It was built by Simplicius I between 468 and 483, as stated in the *Liber Pontificalis* [2], and it was erected in one building campaign, as the absence of any breaks testifies. The only pentimento is the blocking of most of the outside doors in the perimeter wall of the outer compartments in all the diagonal sectors, with the exception of the northeast sector; to judge by the style of the masonry, this occurred during construction or shortly after its completion. Since the decoration was executed only between 523 and 530 [3], the blocking of the doorways and the resulting transformation of the entrance passages into closed annular areas might well date from these same years.

On the other hand, the original function of S. Stefano remains a moot question. It was obviously not built as a regular church to be served by a resident clergy and used by a permanent congregation. Throughout Early Christian times it is listed neither among the tituli nor among the *diaconiae* of Rome; it was not represented by a member of the clergy at either the synod of 499 or that of 595; and it is mentioned as a cardinal's title first in 1118-1119 [4]. Presumably then, in Early Christian times its charge was given to the clergy attached to some titulus or possibly to the cathedral at the nearby Lateran; this was the procedure customary in the of the case *martyria-coemeteria subteglata* erected near a martyr's grave or of catacomb churches sheltering such a grave [5]. Indeed, its central plan suggests that S. Stefano was designed as a *martyrium* [6] and the martyr venerated would obviously have been Saint Stephen, the protomartyr. After a grave at Kfar Gamal near Jerusalem had been identified in 415 as that of Saint Stephen, his cult spread rapidly, first to North Africa, then to the other countries of the Latin West [7]. In Africa, memoriae of his were numerous as early as 426,

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[1] See above, digs. 642-649 and 1736.

[2] See above, dig. 468-483.

[3] See above, digs. 523-526 and 526-530.

[4] See above, dig. 1118-1119; see also Piazza, *Gerarchia*, p. 556, who quotes Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, V, 3 (Migne, *P. L.*, 182, col. 790 f.) with reference to his disciple Martino Cibo, title cardinal of S. Stefano.

[5] See above, p. 147, for S. Sebastiano; and above, Vol. II, pp. 8, 134 for S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and, 191 ff. for S. Marcellino e Pietro; and generally, Krautheimer, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11 (1960), p. 15 ff., esp. 25 ff.

[6] Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1948, *passim*.

[7] Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, Vatican City, 1938, p. 146 ff.

when St. Augustine composed Book XXII of the City of God [1]; a stone, supposedly used in the stoning of the martyr, was venerated even prior to 415 in a memoria outside Ancona [2]; other relics, presumably of his body, were early scattered over North Africa [3], but rare elsewhere prior to the sixth century [4]. In Rome, his feast had entered the calendar by 450 [5]; and his cult is attested by the foundation between 440 and 461 of S. Stefano in Via Latina by Leo I [6], and of S. Stefano near S. Lorenzo f. l. m. [7], as well as of S. Stefano Rotondo by Pope Simplicius. However, no relic has ever been documented in connection with S. Stefano Rotondo, though one would expect it as the focal point of veneration in a martyrium. Hence, unless such a relic was once present but disappeared at an early time, S. Stefano Rotondo would seem to have been designed as a church erected to commemorate the Saint without the presence of a tangible reminder. Given the rarity of relics of Saint Stephen outside Africa and Spain [8] and given also the traditional aversion of Rome against relics taken from the body [9], such a memoria without a relic would be natural in the Rome of Simplicius I. Concomitantly, the importance of the protomartyr in fifth century thought, promoted by the writings of Augustine, and the spread of his cult in Rome at just that time, would explain the building of a splendid memoria on the very site where S. Stefano Rotondo stands. In close proximity to the papal palace at the Lateran, it rose in the Early Christian papal quarter, the fifth century *borgo* as it were, which during the second third of the century had been studded with sanctuaries dedicated to leading relics and saints: S. Maria Maggiore; the chapels of the Baptist and of Saint John the Evangelist at the Lateran baptistery; the oratory of the Holy Cross nearby. Finally, its closeness to the Lateran cathedral suggests that the clergy of the Lateran may well have serviced S. Stefano Rotondo.

Shortly before the middle of the seventh century, Pope Theodore deposited the relics of Saints Primus and Felicianus in a small confessio under the altar in the east chapel. Here the relics were found *in situ* and identified by a seventh century tablet in 1736 [10]. This altar appears to have been the only altar in the church. Theodore also attached to the east wall of the chapel the small apse which is still extant. Its mosaic shows, above the dedicatory inscription, the two saints flanking a huge *crux gemmata* surmounted by a *clipeus* bearing an effigy of Christ, possibly reflecting the cross in the courtyard of the Anastasis at Jerusalem, whence the pope's father, Bishop Theodore, had been exiled by the Arab conquest [11]. Another altar, dedicated to the Baptist, was erected, presumably in the same century, in one of the other chapels.

Only one minor repair seems to have affected the building during the following four centuries: the raising of its central drum by about 1.50 m. The masonry and the scaffolding holes in this addition, both characteristic of Roman building practice under the Carolingian popes, can plausibly be linked to the repairs undertaken by Hadrian I [12].

By the twelfth century the outer portions of the structure, the radial chapels as well as the outer

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[1] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, 8 (Migne, *P. L.*, 41, col. 759 f.).

[2] Augustine, *Sermo* 323, 2 (Migne, *P. L.*, 38, col. 1445); see also Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, sec. ed., Brussels, 1933, p. 314, and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[3] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 389, 401 and note 2.

[4] Delehaye, *op. cit.*, lists relics at Constantinople between 491 and 514 (p. 235; see also Janin, *La géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, première partie*, III, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1953, p. 490 f.); at Capri under Gregory the Great (p. 311); at Ravenna in 550 (p. 326); and at Bourges at the time of Gregory of Tours (p. 342).

[5] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[6] See below, pp. 241 ff.

[7] See above, Vol. II, pp. 9, 134.

[8] See Diehl, *Inscriptiones*, I, *passim*.

[9] Delehaye, *op. cit.* p. 50 ff.

[10] See above, digs. 642-649 and 1736.

[11] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 257 ff., and Idem, *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 70 ff.

[12] See above, dig. 772-795.

and inner compartments in the diagonal sectors, were apparently in ruins, and the center drum threatened to collapse. Hence repairs were made, resulting in a radical transformation of the structure: all the outlying parts were abandoned, except for the east chapel and a portion of the adjoining northeast sector, the latter serving as an entrance passage; nearly the entire outer arcade of the annular aisle was blocked, leaving but small oculi in the lunettes of the blocking walls [1]; a small west apse projecting from the darkened annular aisle was added, as was an entrance porch preceding the east half of the northeast sector; into the center room was inserted a huge cross wall with supporting piers and columns, designed to carry the shorter beams of the new roof; finally, the height of the center room was slightly increased — the addition is easily identified by its Romanesque brickwork. The entire operation was apparently undertaken by Innocent II [2].

The repairs effected by Nicholas V were perhaps less radical than is often assumed. They were limited to vaulting the entrance passage in the northeast sector, thus turning it into a vestibule, and providing its doors at either end with forceful marble frames; placing in the north wall of the east chapel another door from the vestibule; remodeling the convent buildings inserted in the north chapel; re-roofing and covering with coffered ceilings the center room and the annular aisle; inserting tracery work into eight clerestorey windows and walling up the others; and finally, glazing these eight windows as well as the oculi in the blocking walls of the annular aisle [3].

Finally, the work of Gregory XIII focused mainly on redecorating the church as a center for the missionary activity of the Collegium Germanicum, to which it was ceded in 1575 [4]: martyr scenes were painted on the blocking walls of the annular aisle and on the lateral walls of what remained of the east chapel, to fortify the members of the Collegio and their students in their readiness to die for the Faith like the martyrs of the early days. The placing of a chancel enclosing the high altar in the center of the church, and the site of that altar itself, may have been chosen in imitation of models such as S. Costanza; but it is possible that an altar already occupied the center of S. Stefano Rotondo prior to the sixteenth century, either since the time of Nicholas V or of Innocent II or indeed, from the very outset. The structural changes were confined to partitioning off from the east chapel a sacristy to the left and a store room to the right. To accomodate the sacristy, the ceiling of Nicholas V was removed from its original level at the full height of the chapel and placed much lower; two windows were opened in the outer wall, while a door marked with Pope Gregory's name was opened toward the annular aisle; the door which Nicholas V had opened from his vestibule in the north wall of the east chapel was removed to the wall which partitions the sacristy from the main room of the chapel [5].

The latest remodeling of the structure dates from 1736, when the altar in the east chapel was rebuilt by Cardinal Gentili and presumably at the same time, the chapel of Saints Paul and Stephen of Hungary inserted into the east portion of the southeast diagonal sector and decorated with frescoes [6].

[1] The blocking of the arcades has sometimes been erroneously attributed to the work undertaken by Nicholas V; see TOMEI, *op. cit.*, p. 103 and, though with some reservations, URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 267.

[2] See above, dig. 1130-1143.

[3] See above, dig. 1452-1454.

[4] See above, dig. 1580.

[5] The observations regarding the adjustment of the sacristy were made by the keen eye of Prof. Carlo Ceschi.

[6] See above, dig. 1573-1585.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

When all is said and done, S. Stefano Rotondo remains in many respects sphinx-like as ever: in the reconstruction of the original building; in its function; and in the place it occupies in the history of Early Christian architecture.

The picture we can present of the original structure is, no doubt, more solidly founded on many points than previous attempts at visualizing the building; there was the center room, the ambulatory, the four chapels and the four diagonal sectors. Yet for these latter, the plan and roofing of the inner and outer sectors remain in some doubt.

Doubts likewise remain regarding the function of the original building. While it clearly was built as a church, not as a temple, a *macellum* or some other Roman structure, its specific function is far from obvious. Its plan suggests that it was not designed for the ordinary services of a permanent congregation, and this is confirmed by the documented lack of a permanent clergy attached to the church. Rather, it appears to have been laid out as a *martyrium* of the protomartyr Stephen; but again, the absence of a relic or of a tradition leaves the question unresolved.

These doubts also make it difficult to assign the structure to its position among Early Christian church buildings. True enough, its decoration in stucco, marble revetment and mosaic, terminated in the early sixth century, and its classical vocabulary fits in at the very end of what has been called the Sixtine Renaissance of the fifth century in Rome [1]. But its plan and elevation have no place in the development of church building in Rome, or, for that matter, in the Latin West. Structures resembling S. Stefano Rotondo, centrally planned and covered with flat ceilings, conical roofs or domes, but always in timber construction, are found only among martyria of the Christian East from the fourth through the sixth centuries [2]. In particular, the characteristic interpenetration of circular and cross shapes which marks S. Stefano Rotondo appears prior to it only in the East, for instance in the octagon projected and described by Gregory of Nyssa and in the central-plan church at Wiranshehir [3]. Indeed, it seems tempting to fix on a specific model for S. Stefano, the Rotunda of the Anastasis at Jerusalem [4]. From the limited archeological evidence known from pilgrims' reports and from the sketch and description of Arculfus, who visited the Holy Land in 670, the Anastasis appears to have been at that time, if not before, a circular structure, timber-roofed or timber-domed, and enveloped by an inner and perhaps by an outer ambulatory; within this circular plan, a cross shape was marked by pairs of piers, interrupting the colonnade, and by small apses in the main axes. Its measurements coincide strangely with the principal measurements of S. Stefano — the diameter of the center room and the width of the inner areas in the diagonal sectors [5]. Recent investigations, to be sure, have called into question the original layout of the

[1] KRAUTHEIMER, "The Architecture of Sixtus III; A Fifth-Century Renaissance?", *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (*De artibus opuscula XL*), ed. M. Meiss, New York, 1961, p. 291 ff.

[2] For this and the following, see KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1935, *passim*.

[3] For Gregory's octagon, see *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, VIII, 2, p. 76 ff., ed. G. PASQUALI, Berlin, 1925; and BIRNBAUM, "Die Oktogone von Antiochia, Nazianz und Nyssa", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 36 (1913), p. 181 ff. The structure at Wiranshehir, published by STRZYGOWSKI, *Kleinasien* ..., Leipzig, 1904, p. 96 ff., has been dated in the fourth or fifth (*ibid.*, p. 100) and into the sixth century (HUMANN and PUCHSTEIN, *Reisen in Kleinasien* ..., Berlin, 1890, p. 406). S. Angelo in Perugia, contrary to my former doubts (KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 74 f.), dates definitely after S. Stefano Rotondo, probably from the mid-sixth century (R. K.).

[4] CECCHELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Cecchelli's suggestion of the Anastasis as a source for S. Stefano Rotondo was not known to me when writing my study on the problem, KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1935.

[5] VINCENT and ABEL, *Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 1, Paris, 1914, p. 107 ff.; *Itinera Hierosolymitana* ...; and KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1935, esp. p. 85 ff.

structure that Constantine built around the Anastasis monument [1]; and if these are further confirmed, the full rotunda with ambulatory (or ambulatories) that was seen by the later pilgrims can only represent a rebuilding of Constantine's original structure. At this point, however, there is no reason to doubt that such a rebuilding took place, and that it indeed occurred prior to the latter part of the fifth century, when it became the model for S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome.

[1] CORBO, "Gli edifici della Santa Anastasis", *Liber Annuus* 12 (1961-62) p. 221 ff.

S. STEFANO IN VIA LATINA

(*R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, W. Frankl*)

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APOLLONJ GHETTI, Summary of paper read Dec. 12, 1966, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 39 (1966/67), p. XIX.

B. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS

1858 ANONYMOUS, Plans and views of ruins, lithographs; PROFILI, *Relazione* (our fig. 197).
1858 COTTAFAVI, Views of ruins and baptismal font, woodcuts; MONTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 163.
1859 PARBONI, Plan of building complex, including church, engraving; FORTUNATI, *Relazione* (our fig. 198).

C. DATES

after 325 Epitaph of "SEX ANICIO PAULINO PROCOS. AFRICAE BISCOS. PRAEF. URB"; found in 1857-1858 in ruins of church (FORTUNATI, *Relazione*, p. 13; IDEM, *Brevi cenni*, p. 13).

341 Epitaph of unknown woman "[marce]LINI ET PROBINI... [cons]" (FORTUNATI, *Brevi cenni*, p. 12; IDEM, *Relazione*, p. 14; and DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 514, no. 1123); see also below, dig. 518-527.

440—461 Demetrias, a lady of the Anicii family, founds the church through a legacy, at the time of Leo I: "*Huius temporibus fecit Demetria ancilla Dei basilicam sancto Stephano via Latina miliario iii in praedio suo*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 238).

Construction is supervised by the presbyter Tigrinus upon orders of Pope Leo:

CUM MVNDVM LI(nqu)ENS DEM(etria)S AM(nia virgo)
CLA(ud)ERET E(xt)REMVM NON MORI(tura diem
hae)C TIBI PAP(a) LEO VOTORVM EXTREMA (suorum
tradi)DIT (ut sacr)AE SVRGERET AV(la domus)
M(a)ND(a)TI COMPLE(ta) FIDES SED GLOR(ia maior
in)TERIVS VOTVM SOLVERE QVAM PROP(alam)
IN(did)ERAT (c)VLMEN STEP(han)VS QVI PRIMVS IN ORBE
(r)APTVS MORT(e tr)VCI REGN(at) I(n) ARCE(poli
pr)AESVLIS HA(nc iuss)V TIGRINVS P(resbyter aulam)
EX(c)OLIT INSONTIS MENTE LABO(re bo)NI.

[1] No bibliography exists prior to the excavation of the church. Descriptions or illustrations are also lacking prior to that date.
[2] No second part was ever published.
[3] The album of illustrations by R. Garrucci promised on the title page does not seem to have been produced.

The inscription, in pseudo-Damasian characters, is now in the Museo delle Terme. It was found in fragments among the ruins of the church in 1857-1858 and reconstructed by Garrucci (FORTUNATI, *Relazione*, opp. p. 26; PROFILI, " Relazione ", p. 7; see also DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 343, no. 1765).

531—532 Epitaph of Maurianus who was buried " ... (invicti Stepha)NI ... IN AULA ... (Lampadi et) HORESTES VVCC CONSVLIS ", found in fragments among ruins of church; Rome, E.U.R., Museo del Medioevo (FORTUNATI, *Relazione*, p. 15; DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 473, no. 1044; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 419 f., no. 2139).

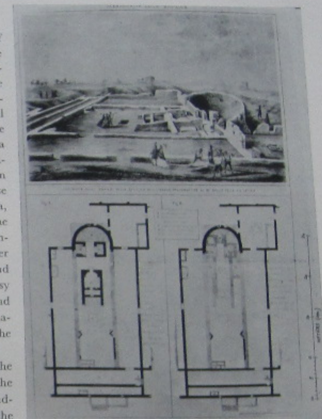
566—578 Epitaph of " M... (presb. tit.) IOHANNIS ET PAULI ... DOMNO NOSTRO IUSTINO "; on reverse of epitaph dated 341 (see above, dig. 341; FORTUNATI, *loc. cit.*, DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 223, no. 1139; DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 514, no. 1123).

795—815 The roofs of the church, long in bad repair, are restored by Leo III: " *Pari modo et sarta tecta basilicae beati Stephani primi martyris constituta via Latina miliario tertio, quae per multa iam annorum curricula vetustate erant confecta et ruinis proxima, noviter reparavit* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 29).

844—847 A bell is given to the church by the shepherd or cattleherder Lupo: " ... STEPHANI PRIMIS MARTIRI EGO LVPO GRIGARIVS ... E/CANPAA EXPENSIS MEIS FECI TEMP DN SERGII TER BEAISSIM ET COANGELICO IVNIORIS PAPE AMEN "; inscription found in fragments among the ruins; Rome, E.U.R., Museo del Medioevo (FORTUNATI, *Brevi cenni*, p. 11; IDEM, *Relazione*, p. 18; PROFILI, *Relazione*, " Appendice ", p. 147).

847—855 Leo IV provides textiles, including six *vela*, and altar vessels " *in basilica beati Stephani pontificis via Latina miliario III ...* " (*L.P.*, II, p. 116).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION



(Profili, *Relazione*)

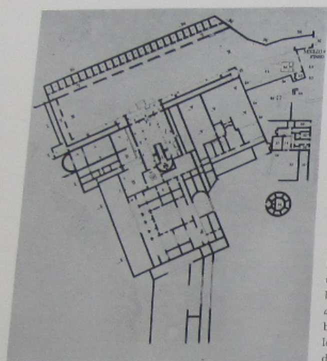
Fig. 197. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Anonymous, View and plans of ruins, 1858

Very little of the original church of S. Stefano in Via Latina remains above ground level. Although the sources refer to a church of this dedication close to the third milestone of the Via Latina, all traces of it had been lost until 1857, when Lorenzo Fortunati came across it while searching in the area for traces of the ancient thoroughfare. He discovered the foundation walls of a large suburban villa close to the road and, built inside the villa, the church (fig. 197). In 1858, the *Commissione di Archeologia sacra* was empowered by Pope Pius IX to take over the systematic clearing of the site and the reverberations of the controversy developing between the discoverer and the *Commissione* are felt in the publications of both Fortunati and Profili, the secretary of the *Commissione*.

In preparing the remains of the church for permanent exhibition, the *Commissione di Archeologia Sacra* surrounded it with high walls; those to the north and south coincide with the flanks of the basilica while the walls to east and west are placed a little beyond the area of the church. The remains of the villa have been allowed to disappear, while those of the church were thoroughly restored. It was a simple basilica with an apse at the west end and its entrance at the east. The part of the villa on which the church stood had formerly been occupied by a sanctuary or tomb of the classical period. Within the church, the remains of this sanctuary were used as a crypt.

E. ANALYSIS

The disappearance of the adjoining structures, and the thorough restoration undertaken in the church in 1857 to 1858, make it necessary to utilize not only the extant remains but the surveys made at the time of excavation as well. Unfortunately, these surveys, published the one by Fortunati, the other by Profili, differ on a number of points.



(Fortunati, *Relazione*, pl. det.)

Fig. 198. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Parboni, Plan, 1859

1. The narthex

According to Fortunati's plan (fig. 198) the church was approached through a spacious courtyard, 100 m. long and 24 m. wide, flanked on its west side by a long portico, whose center portion developed into a somewhat deeper narthex in front of the basilica. A flight of four steps led up from the courtyard to the narthex. A wall found within the narthex, parallel to its long sides, was interpreted by Fortunati as having carried an inner row of columns in line with the rear wall of the long portico. The colonnades and steps have now disappeared but it seems that Fortunati's reconstruction was based on the following evidence: *a*) four or five column bases or base blocks standing along the axis of a long stylobate wall of *opus listatum* indicated the long colonnaded portico; *b*) an inner wall, also of *opus listatum*, parallel with the stylobate, indicated the rear wall of the portico; *c*) the foundations of the lateral walls, prolongations of the side walls of the basilica, indicated the north and south side walls of the narthex; *d*) a wall parallel with the portico, built entirely in *tufelli*, marked the entrance wall of the basilica proper.

Before Fortunati excavated them, none of these walls protruded above ground level and probably very little survived above the level of the church floor. During the restoration some of the walls were heightened, using masonry which reproduces the ancient material, and in studying the church it is important to distinguish between what is ancient and what is restoration. The side walls of the narthex are indicated by their foundations, which are certainly ancient on the north side, although the south side wall is more doubtfully ancient (pl. XIV). The side walls are inserted between the parallel walls of the portico and obviously postdate them. For the narthex colonnades, Fortunati shows no bases in the area of the narthex, but Profili marks two on the easternmost of the two parallel walls, in the line of the long colonnade (figs. 197 and 198).

One of them corresponds with a base block which still exists (Pl. XIV); the other, south of the church axis, has disappeared. Although examination of the existing stylobate wall suggests that the block which is actually *in situ* was placed there in the nineteenth century to support a restored column which has subsequently fallen over, Profili's plan leaves little doubt that there was adequate evidence for its being so placed. On the basis of this evidence, and assuming that the columns were evenly spaced, the location of five columns in the front colonnade of the narthex can be reasonably postulated. They are rather widely spaced, but not unreasonably so if the porch had a timber roof and timber lintels. The piers which Fortunati placed at each end of the narthex to provide a stop for the side walls are not attested by any surviving evidence (fig. 198).

Fortunati's inner row of narthex columns seems to be incorrect. What he took to be the stylobate of a second colonnade is better interpreted as the remaining footing course of the rear wall of the original long portico, which was removed over the breadth of the narthex when the church was built. Only two or three courses are ancient and the restored upper courses are misleading.

2. Nave and aisles

The nave is 8.80 m. wide and 29.0 m. in length, and terminates in an apse with a diameter of 8.40 m. Colonnades on each side divide the nave from the aisles, these being 5.25 m. wide and as long as the nave (figs. 199, 200). The thickness of the apse wall is 0.65 m., that of all other walls, 0.60 m.

The walls of the church are built in *opus listatum* (figs. 203, 204) except for the east entrance wall, which consists entirely of *tufelli* (fig. 199). At the north end of this entrance wall the *tufelli* give place to a few courses of *opus listatum* which are bonded integrally with the north wall of the narthex (fig. 200). We thus deduce that the part which is *tufelli* survives from an earlier period and was reused by the church builders as footings for their east wall. The alternative possibility, that the *tufelli* wall is later than the *opus listatum*, is less likely because the *tufelli* foundations are lower. Moreover, while we find other pre-existing structures incorporated in the church that are built of *tufelli*, all later construction is of *opus listatum*. In its present state the west wall stands 1.20 m. above ground level but more than half of this height is restoration; originally the upper part of the west wall,



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 199. S. Stefano in Via Latina. View of church, facing west, 1900



(Photo: Fototeca Unione)

Fig. 200. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Right hand colonnade, facing west, 1960

belonging to the church, may have been built in the usual *opus listatum*. Profili and Fortunati agree (for once) that the church had three doorways at the east end, one in the nave and one in each side aisle, but the evidence on which their opinion is based no longer exists. On his general plan of the area, Fortunati shows three openings (fig. 198). Profili's plan shows the doorway in the north aisle but none in the nave and south aisle (fig. 197). Presumably all trace of the latter had disappeared by the time Profili came on the scene, if any ever existed. We must presume that Profili found sufficient evidence for a north doorway, and hence for all three; his drawings give no details (fig. 197). At present there is a single opening in the middle of the wall but it is in the restored part of the structure and was built well below the level where the original threshold would have been, merely to provide easy access to the nave area.

The north wall of the north aisle barely exists above floor level, though its location is shown by the modern enclosure wall which stands on its foundations. Here and there a course or two of the original *opus listatum* can be distinguished and the former level of the aisle pavement is probably indicated by a projecting brick course at the top of the foundations. The doorway which Profili's plan shows near the center of the north wall is still faintly discernible (figs. 197, 202). At the northwest corner of the north aisle single courses of *tufelli* and brick (*opus listatum* 1:1) alternate through four courses. This masonry forms the northwest corner of the aisle and continues in the end wall (fig. 203). The footing course also continues through the corner and there is no doubt that north and west walls are contemporaneous.

The south wall is rather different. Over much of its length the ground has risen to conceal the original masonry, but seven meters of its length are visible at its west end (fig. 204). Here the *opus listatum* coursing is two *tufelli* to one brick (*opus listatum* 2:1). The south wall foundations lie lower than those on the north side of the church, presumably because a drain runs parallel with the wall outside the church. Fortunati records that the south side of this drain is of *opus reticulatum* and we presume that it already existed when the church was built. *The opus listatum* 2:1 continues, perfectly well bonded, through the corner between the south wall and the west end wall of the aisle (fig. 204), but the foundations of the latter are at a higher level and correspond with those already noted in the north aisle. The only difference is that this west wall has no projecting brick course at its base.

A doorway in the west end wall of each aisle led from the aisle to the outside, or possibly to the rooms beyond the nave and aisles. In the north aisle the masonry on either side of the door is *opus listatum* 1:1 and the same masonry continues without interruption to form the apse and the end pier of the north colonnade (fig. 205). In the south aisle the masonry between the doorway and the southwest corner is *opus listatum* 2:1, as we have seen, but north of the doorway it is *opus listatum* 1:1, and the same material continues through the apse and in the end pier of the south colonnade.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 201. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Narthex, west wall and (right edge) north wall



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 202. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North wall of church, showing location of door



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 203. S. Stefano in Via Latina. North wall (right) and end wall of north aisle



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 204. S. Stefano in Via Latina. South wall (left) and end wall of south aisle, detail



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 205. S. Stefano in Via Latina. End wall of north aisle, showing door to baptistery



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 206. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Apse wall, exterior, incorporating column base

The footing course of the west wall is continuous, and it is not clear why the *opus listatum* on one side of the doorway differs from that on the other. Profili reports that the doorway at the west end of the south aisle was found blocked up with masonry similar to that of the rest of the church, but this blocking no longer exists.

The *opus listatum* 1:1 of the aisle and walls continues throughout the apse except where it is interrupted by three blind relieving arches apparently designed to concentrate the load of the apse wall onto selected portions of the foundations (figs. 206, 207). Like most of the apse wall, these arches are new in their upper parts; in the original parts the brick voussoirs are approximately 0.44 cm. long and set rather incaccurately, those near the base tending to be more vertical than radial.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)
Fig. 207. S. Stefano in Via Latina. View of apse, altar (middle ground) and walls of aedicula (foreground)

The nave colonnade stylobates still exist although it is probable that much of what we now see dates from the nineteenth century restorations (fig. 200). They are trench-built of rough, unfaced concrete (*a sacco*). At the west end of the north stylobate, the only place where it can be examined, the concrete is seen to be continuous with the foundations of the apse and perimeter walls, leaving almost no doubt that the main lines of the basilica were laid down as a single unit. Profili states that at the time of excavation five column emplacements were identifiable (fig. 197), and we assume that they correspond with the five base blocks which now exist. However, these are not necessarily the original blocks, since parts of the colonnade were re-erected in 1859 and the present base blocks may well be replacements (figs. 199, 200). Today only two columns remain standing and those which have fallen display the nineteenth century iron dowels used in re-erecting them. Among the ruins of the church Fortunati found, lying in or near the nave, 22 shafts about 3.65 m. long, 40 bases and over 30 capitals, but he moved them all out of the church and we can no longer assign any column to its original place. If the evidence can be relied upon, the spacing of the base blocks shows that there were 8 columns on each side of the nave.

At the west end of the nave, beside the apse, the colonnades terminated in square piers, the lower courses of which still exist. The spacing of the column bases seems to indicate that similar piers occurred against the east wall although no part of them survives today.

Although the nave floor does not survive, its original level can be deduced from the base blocks of the nave columns and the projecting footing courses of the aisle side walls, which coincide in level to within a few centimeters. Presumably the church floor lay directly on top of them.

The area northwest of the apse is occupied by a nearly square chamber, whose east and south walls are integral with the nave and apse, while its other two walls are more problematical and possibly anterior. Near the center of this chamber Fortunati excavated a small fan-shaped basin about 0.60 m. deep, its vertical sides constructed entirely of *tufelli* except for a single brick course, and lined with waterproof cement or *opus signinum* (fig. 197). Its location indicates that the chamber served as the baptistery and the basin as the baptismal font. The placing of the baptistery adjoining the apse finds its parallel in late fourth and fifth century churches, such as S. Crisogono in Rome[1] and the Pammachius basilica at Porto[2]; and fan-shaped fonts are found at S. Crisogono as well as, for instance, at Mariana on Corsica[3]. Hence, the font at S. Stefano may be contemporary, with the construction of the church (R.K.)?[4] On the other hand, the basin may have been used as a font a baptistery only after the church was built and its *tufelli* masonry and unusual shape may suggest that it was originally part of some ornamental fountain, perhaps in a thermal complex (S.C.). The existence of such a complex is suggested by a hypocaust system south of the apse, to be discussed below.

3. Antecedent features

The remains of older buildings which have been incorporated in the narthex and entrance wall and possibly the baptismal font are not the only features which appear to antedate the church.

A classical column base survives, embedded in the exterior face of the apse wall, 1.44 m. south of the center line (fig. 206). Above it a vertical channel shows where the column shaft formerly stood embedded in the outside face of the wall. Profili mistakenly showed a corresponding feature on the north side of the center line, thinking that the column belonged to some decoration of the apse (fig. 197). In fact there was only one column and it must have belonged to a colonnade antecedent to the church. It is exactly in line with a wall, some meters to the south, which is presumably part of the same feature. This wall, built partly of *opus reticulatum* and partly of *opus listatum*, forms one side of a vaulted underground passage with lateral flues, which we interpret as part of a hypocaust. A rectangular enclosure which lies on top of the vault may be a tank for hot water. Apart from a short section of *opus reticulatum*, the hypocaust walls are all built of *opus listatum* 1:1. Since they are associated with the column in the apse wall, and since the latter is obviously earlier than the church, we assign the whole hypocaust complex to a period antedating the church. It may or may not have continued in use after the building of the church.

Traces of a marble pavement found at a level considerably below that established for the church led Profili to suppose that the aisle floors were about a meter higher than the nave; but Fortunati is much more likely correct in assigning the lower pavement to an earlier period than the church. We conjecture that it belongs to the same complex as the *tufelli* footings of the west wall. At a point near the middle of the nave this older pavement was interrupted by a deep rectangular pit, identified in Profili's plan by the letter C (fig. 197).

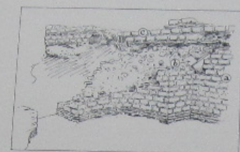
To the same pre-existing complex we assign a small aedicula which stands near the middle of the nave, slightly south of the church axis and either level with or slightly lower than the pre-existing pavement (figs. 197, 198, 199, 207, 208, 209). It resembles the east wall of the nave in being

[1] See above Vol. I, p. 156 and, more recently, Apolloni-Ghetti, *S. Crisogono* (*Le Chiese illustrate di Roma*), Rome, 1966, pp. 24 ff.
[2] De Rossi, "I monumenti cristiani di Porto", *B.A.C.* 4 (1966), p. 37 ff., esp. p. 99 ff.
[3] Moracchini-Mazel, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de la Corse*, Paris, 1967, pp. 40 ff.
[4] See also Khatchatrian, *Les Baptistères paléochrétiens*, Paris, 1961, p. 123, and Zettinger, "Die ältesten Nachrichten über Baptisterien der Stadt Rom" *R. Q. Schr.* 16 (1902), p. 326 ff.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 208. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Aedicula, north wall and (right) east wall



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 209. S. Stefano in Via Latina. Aedicula north wall (a), with vault (b), terminating apse and wall of *schola* (c)

constructed only of *tufelli*, except for a triple brick course at the base of its walls (fig. 209). According to Profili, it originally had a marble floor and wall revetments of marble and stucco. The aedicula has the plan of a small shrine or perhaps a tomb, comprising porch, intermediate chamber and inner cella (figs. 197, 198). Half-round recesses in the eastern ends of the side walls indicate that the porch was once flanked by columns. A doorway at the rear of the porch, slightly off-center, led into the narrow intermediate chamber and thence to the inner cella (fig. 207). The latter is oblong and had niches for lamps on each side of the door. The opposite wall is developed into a curved recess composed in plan of two quarter-circles flanking an opening; possibly however, the original central element was a rectangular niche which but subsequently was converted into the opening (figs. 197, 207, 209).

The original walls of the aedicula are cut off 0.40 m. below the level of the church floor, and it seems likely that the shrine was buried when the church was built. After the aedicula walls were cut down, its cella was roofed over with a shallow vaulted ceiling of undetermined date though certainly later than the walls (fig. 209, b). Since the vault is contemporaneous with the *schola cantorum* (fig. 209, c), the aedicula was buried and vaulted when the *schola* was built. Very likely, this occurred at the time the church was first laid out. But it is possible that the burial of the aedicula and the construction of the *schola* belong to a second building campaign at some unknown time, possibly even considerably later than the construction of the basilica.

West of the aedicula, at the level of the aedicula and the pre-existing pavement, Profili reports two small rectangular chambers revetted with marble and symmetrically disposed on either side of the axis of the aedicula complex (fig. 197). Only a small portion of the north chamber is now visible; it is built of *tufelli* only. These chambers are presumed to belong to the same complex as the aedicula and pavement. Profili believed that they formed part of the church building in an early stage; but to the present writers it seems more likely that they are all survivals from some complex which occupied the site before the church was built, the aedicula being reused at a later period to form part of a crypt beneath the nave floor.

4. Chancel site and crypt

Whereas the original aedicula walls are truncated below the level of the nave floor, the shallow vault with which they were subsequently roofed evidently rose some distance above the general floor level. This protuberance was concealed by the raised floor of a comparatively narrow chancel site, only 4.20 m. wide (figs. 197, 198, 199, 207). The original length can no longer be determined. It still projects 11 m. from the chord of the apse, nearly reaching the middle of the nave, and it may have been longer. When first excavated, the seats of the chancel site were still to be seen but they have now entirely disappeared and only a few courses of *opus listatum* (2 *tufelli*: 1 brick) remain to bear witness to the existence of the *schola*. Figure 209 is a sketch of the northwest corner of the aedicula showing its vault (b) clearly inserted into the original masonry, and part of the south face of the superimposed north wall of the chancel site (c). We presume that the vault and the chancel wall are contemporaneous. Outside the chancel site traces of wing walls are still seen, two on each side, joining the lateral chancel walls to the nave colonnades. The western pair of walls closed the west end of the nave just in front of the apse, while the other pair corresponded with the penultimate columns of the nave colonnade. When Profili saw them in 1858, they still bore traces of stucco decoration representing marble transennae.

The high altar of the church, on the chord of the apse, is still fairly well preserved (fig. 207). It is a rectangular structure of brickwork whose modulus is 4½ courses per R. ft. It stands on a massive concrete foundation block which partly overlaps (and preserves) the remains of the two rectangular chambers belonging to the antecedent complex. A small compartment in the heart of the altar extends down into the core of the foundation block, and is lined partly with brick and partly with concrete. Profili noted two openings in the sides of the compartment; one to the west and a narrower one facing east. Unfortunately the altar is now too incomplete for these *fenestellae* to be seen.

Close to the apse, doorways pierced the side walls of the raised chancel site and gave access, by means of narrow stairs, to a crypt which was but a western extension of the antecedent aedicula. Profili asserts that the crypt also communicated with the reliquary compartment inside the altar.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

The classical buildings which stood on the ground where the church was subsequently built are too incomplete to be fully intelligible, but what we know may be summarized as follows. A large suburban villa belonging to the Anicii family stood close to the Via Latina and enclosed within its walls a complex including an area of marble pavement surrounding a rectangular pit (fig. 197, at C). West of the pit, and on its axis, stood the aedicula. Behind this were small square buildings, symmetrically placed along this axis. All these buildings, and also a wall which bounded the pavement on the east side, were constructed of coursed *tufelli*, while the walls of the pit, the aedicula and the square buildings were revetted with marble. Somewhat similar *tufelli* construction is also found in the only part of the villa which is still above ground: an exedral feature, perhaps a gateway, some 200 meters to the west (D on Fortunati's plan). Other fragmentary walls of the villa which survive in fragments near the church are built of *opus reticulatum*. A spacious courtyard east of the marble paved area was bounded on its west side by a long portico (B on Fortunati's plan, fig. 198) whose stylobate was built in *opus listatum*. The portico seems to be later than the aedicula complex, since the bases of its columns lie 0.90 m. higher than the marble pavement. The function of the pit, the aedicula and the two chambers further west remains unclear. No doubt, they belong together and one would like to interpret the entire complex as a shrine or more likely a mausoleum erected by one of the owners of the villa, presumably an ancestor of Demetrias and, more likely than not, pagan. But the question must remain unresolved.

When the church took the place of the aedicula complex, the builders made use of the *tufelli*-built east boundary wall as the east wall of the nave and aisles, and adapted part of the colonnaded portico as a narthex. The marble pavement and the lower portion of the aedicula were buried

beneath the church floor; the upper part of the aedicula was presumably cut down to floor level. The facts admit an alternative interpretation, namely, that the aedicula was kept intact inside the church and stood, like St. Peter's aedicula at the Vatican Basilica, half-buried in the church floor; only at a later point when the chancel site was constructed would the aedicula have disappeared. However, this hypothesis is based on the assumption that the chancel was inserted into the original basilica in a second campaign; but this assumption is entirely unproven. It is far more likely that the burial of the aedicula, its vaulting and the construction of the chancel are all contemporaneous with the building of the basilica. This is confirmed by the fact that the ancient marble pavement was buried 1.10 m. below the church floor: if the aedicula was originally intended to be seen inside the church we would expect the builders to reuse the ancient pavement.

The church was an ordinary apsed basilica with eight columns on each side of the nave. The wide spacing of the columns and the absence of architrave blocks among the ruins, although columns were plentiful, indicate that the colonnades supported arches. We presume that there were clerestorey windows above. A narthex in front of the entrance, here remodeled from the pre-existing portico, was a normal feature in Roman church building since at least the late fourth century, as was a baptistery chamber flanking the apse, regardless of the original function and date of the font in the case of this church.

The plan of both the altar site and the chancel site is not exceptional in Roman churches from the fourth through the early eighth centuries. The placing of the altar behind the chord of the apse, the narrowness and length of the chancel proper, and the wing walls which extend laterally to the nave colonnades find counterparts in a number of other churches: S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, dated ca. 400; S. Clemente, 533 to 535; the second church of S. Marco, ca. 550 to 650; and even the chancel of S. Maria Antiqua, dating from 705 to 707 [1]. In most of these, the chancel proper is continued in the direction of the nave entrances by a still narrower *solea* enclosed by parapets or walls. It is possible that such a feature existed also at S. Stefano in Via Latina, but this can no longer be established.

On the other hand, the placing of a crypt in continuation of the aedicula is an unusual feature and we are not certain whether it belongs to the original plan of the church or is the result of a later remodeling.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The features of the plan of the church are standard in fifth century Rome, from S. Vitale to S. Sabina and even S. Agata dei Goti. The baptistery chamber flanking the apse also finds its parallels in the Pammachius basilica at Porto, dated ca. 390, and at S. Crisogono in Rome, as remodeled, presumably near the middle or in the second half of the fifth century [2]. Likewise the construction in *opus listatum* 2:1 is customary in churches in the Roman campagna and occasionally inside the city from the fourth through the sixth centuries. Nothing then contradicts, and every archaeological indication coincides with, the date of the foundation as established by the inscription tablet commemorating the legacy of Demetrias and the building of the basilica under Leo I, 440-461, and by the passage in Leo's biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* [3]. The construction

[1] MATHEWS, "An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement", *R.A.C.* 38 (1962), pp. 73 ff. For S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, see above, Vol. III pp. 218 ff., 224 f. 231. A Constantinian example, yet unpublished, existed at the Lateran.

[2] See above, Vol. I, pp. 156, 159, and APOLLONJ-GHETTI, as quoted above, p. 249, note 1.

[3] See above, dig. 440-461.

of the chancel site might well be contemporary with the building of the church. Its plan, as we noted, appears in Rome since the fourth and remains in use into the sixth and occasionally as late as the beginning of the eighth century. Taking into consideration its relation at S. Stefano in Via Latina to the aedicula beneath, we incline toward assigning the same date, ca. 450, to the chancel site and the basilica.

However, the possibility that the chancel site was laid out at a later date need not be precluded entirely. As mentioned, the type continues into the sixth and seventh centuries. Indeed, the laying out of a crypt beneath the chancel is not known so far in any fifth century structure in Rome. The first example seems to be the crypt which Gregory I, 590-604, placed under the chancel at S. Paolo f. l. m. [1]. This is followed, under Hadrian I, 772-795, by the "hall crypt" of S. Maria in Cosmedin [2]. Possibly then, the reuse at S. Stefano of the aedicula as a crypt and its extension west to coincide with the high altar and its *fenestella*, are due to a remodeling in the course of the seventh or perhaps eighth centuries.

The last references to the church of S. Stefano date from the mid-ninth century when Leo IV donated a small textile, and the "*grigarius*" Lupo donated a bell [3]. His occupation as a cattle-herder suggests that by then the neighborhood had become pasture. Presumably the building was abandoned shortly afterward and finally all but forgotten.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

If we are right in identifying the complex which was buried beneath the fifth century church as the remains of an earlier sanctuary, S. Stefano may be a rare exception to the rule whereby Early Christian buildings avoided ground tainted by paganism. Nevertheless, an exception might have been admitted in the case of a church built by the devotion of a private person and within the precinct of that person's own house. Alternatively, the original sanctuary might have been Christian. In other respects the church is a normal specimen of a small fifth century basilica.

[1] PESARINI, "La Basilica di S. Paolo ...," *Studi Romani* 1 (1913), p. 386 ff., and with regard to the crypt, p. 412 ff.

[2] See above, Vol. II, p. 298 f., and KRAUTHEIMER, "The Crypt of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin ...", *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, New York, 1965, p. 171 ff.

[3] See above, digs. 844-847, 847-855.

S. SUSANNA

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)

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Panvinio, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 6780, ff. 63, 67.

[1] Descriptions post-dating 1600 have been excluded because they do not provide any information regarding the old church.

Ugonio, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 1994, f. 130 (245); 2160, f. 179 (127) *Stationi, loc. cit.*[1].
Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 787; 1625, p. 341.

II. Ancient illustrations.

1472 Anonymous, View from northwest, pen and ink; Strozzi Map, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Red. 77 (De Rossi, *Piante*, pl. 4; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 159).
ca. 1551 Brueghel the Elder, View from northwest, oil; Paris, Coll. Destombes (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 171).
1551 Bufalini, Plan, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 192).
1576 Cartaro, View of left flank, engraving; Map of Rome (Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 240).
1577 Dupérac-Lafréry, View of right flank, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, Rome, 1908; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 254).
1588 Fra Santi, View of façade, inscribed " Templ. s. Susannae ", woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 59r (our fig. 224) [2].
ca. 1588—1595 Anonymous (De Winghe ?), Illustrations of apse mosaic of Leo III, watercolor (lost but copied by Ciacconius, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 5407, f. 74 [p. 140], f. 96 [p. 184], f. 97 [p. 186]; Idem, Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS. 1564, 45 ff.; Ménéstrier, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 10545, f. 234v ff.; Alemannus, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and Bagarris, engraved in Spon, *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, Lyon, 1635, pl. 1 ff.) [3].

C. DATES

early V century The Bernensis version of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* refers, under the date of August 11, to the festival of Saint Susanna " *ad duas domus iuxta duo clecinas* " (*AA.SS.* Nov., II, 1, p. 104; 2, p. 434 f.). The indication " *duas clecinas* " is presumably a misreading for *diocletianas* (scil., *thermas*; see Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 70 f., with reference to Bede, *Martyrologium*, cod. S 1 [*AA. SS. Nov.*, II, 1, p. 104; Aug., II, p. 631 f.]: " *iuxta duas domus diocletianos* ").

V century (?) Epitaph of unknown provenance and date: " *olim presbyteri Gabini filia felix / Hic Susanna iacet in pace patri sociata* "; lost, but read prior to 1595-1603 inside the confessio " *sub ara maxima* " (Panvinio. *ms. cit.*, f. 63); " *nel Marmo sopra la confessione ...* " (Ugonio, *ms. cit.*, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 127); see also Bosio (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1650, p. 453): " *nella cui confessione avanti che fosse rinovata dal Cardinal Rusticucci, ho' letto questi due versi ...* ".

499 The presbyters Benedictus and Severus " *tituli Gai* " attend the synod of 499 (*M.G.H.*, *Auct. Ant.*, II, p. 413).

V or VI century Brickstamp, " Ioannes Fecit ", with cross in circle, found in 1938 along right flank of church (Bloch, " The Roman Brick-Stamps not published in Volume XV. 1 of the ' Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum ", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 56/57 [1947], p. 120, no. 612).

VI century The *Passio Sanctae Susannae* identifies the house of Susanna's father, Gavinius (where she prayed in her *cubiculum* and suffered martyrdom and where Gavinius' brother, Pope Gaius, celebrated Mass in her honor) and the adjoining house of Gaius as the " *duas domus* " where, " ever since ", a *statio* is celebrated. It places them " *in regione Sallusti ... in platea ante palatium Sallusti ...* " and, more precisely, " *... in regione sexta iuxta vicum Mammurtini ante forum Sallusti ...* " (*AA.SS.* Aug., II, p. 632, and Mombritius, *op. cit.*, p. 553 ff.; see also Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.; Franchi de' Cavalieri, *op. cit.*, p. 185 ff.; and Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, p. 70 ff.).

[1] Ugonio's note and sketch, Barb. lat. 2161, f. 29v, refer to Roman ruins opposite S. Susanna, not to the church.

[2] A plan of Mascarino's, found by Wasserman (*Ottaviano Mascarino*, Rome, 1966, p. 67 ff. and fig. 25) has been identified by him as a project for remodeling S. Susanna. But I remain unconvinced: the measurements do not coincide with those of the existing nave, which was never lengthened by Maderno (*Ibid.*, p. 69); and the omission from the plan of the extant apse makes no sense. I am glad to know that Professor Howard Hibbard confirms my suspicions, and I want to thank him for generously letting me peruse the draft of a note regarding the plan, to be included in his forthcoming volume on Carlo Maderno.

[3] The above is extracted from Mrs. Davis-Weyer's excellent paper (*op. cit.*, *passim*), which also lists the later copies of the apse mosaic as found among the papers of Peiresc (received from Bagarris [?]; Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale, Cod. 1784, ff. 115v, 117), Dal Pozzo (Windsor, Royal Library, no. 9166 ff.; from Ciacconius but close to Peiresc) and Suarez (?) (Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2062, f. 61 f.). See also, Waetzold, *Kopien*, p. 77.

595 The presbyter Rusticus "*tituli sanctae Susannae*" attends the synod of 595 (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 367).

682—683 Leo II ordains the presbyter Sergius (later Pope Sergius I) "*in titulo sanctae Susannae qui et duas domus vocatur*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 371).

687—701 A bull of Sergius I, addressed to Johannes, "*presbytero ... virginis et Martyris Christi Susannae*", is preserved in an inscription, only a fragment of which survives today in the church [1]; other fragments, now lost, were read prior to 1595-1603. It lists his donation to the church of real estate both in and near Rome, and refers to gifts made by others "*in eadem ecclesia sanctae Susannae*". The real estate in town is located "*in regione quarta*", some of it "*iuxta sanctam Susannam*" (De Rossi, *op. cit.*, 1870, p. 89 ff.). In the church, Sergius I replaces the wooden ciborium "*basilicae sanctae Susannae*" with a marble canopy (*L.P.*, I, p. 375).

772—795 Hadrian I repairs the roof: "*tectum tituli beate Susannae martyris qui appellatur duas Domus*" (*L.P.*, *I*, p. 507).

799 [2] Leo III, formerly presbyter of the *titulus beatae Susannae*, rebuilds the titulus because of its shortness, or narrowness [3], and age ("*dum breviter constructus fuisset etiam per olitana tempora ipsi parietes marcuissent*") and enlarges it into a sizable structure, providing it anew with a deep and solid foundation ("*in amplum largivit aedificium et noviter in altum fodiens firmissimum posuit fundamentum*"). He levels a plane and builds on these excellent foundations a church with an apse and a large mosaic, including galleries, a vault (*camera*), a chancel, a marble pavement ("*et eruta planitie mirifice excelsa super ipsa fundamenta aedificavit ecclesiam cum absida de musivo amplissimo et caticumenia mirifica atque camera decorata seu presbyterium et pavimentum marmoribus pulchris ornavit*"), and, on either side, aisles with marble columns ("*dextra levaque et portica eius cum columnis marmoreis construxit*"). He adds a baptistery (or a baptismal font) and donates numerous lighting fixtures, textiles and pieces of furniture of gold and silver, perhaps for the chancel enclosure. Among them is a silver confessio below the altar and eight silver columns, two arches (*arcora*) and two *gammadias* with crosses, and lamps (*gabathas*) (*L.P.*, II, p. 3).
The inscription of the apse mosaic, preserved until the rebuilding 1595-1603, similarly stressed the narrowness and the neglected and weakened state of the old structure and the activity of Leo III in building, decorating and consecrating the new construction: "DVDVM HAEC BEATE SVSANNAE MARTYRIS AVLA COANGVSTO ET TETRO EXISTENS LOCO MARCVERAT QVAE DOMINVS LEO TERTIVS PAPA A FUNDAMENTIS ERIGENS CONDENS CORPVS BEATAE FELICITATIS MARTYRIS COMPTE EDIFICANS ORNABIT ATQVE DEDICABIT" (Panvinio, *Schedario*, f. 67; Ugonio, *Schedario*, Barb. lat., 2160, f. 127^{v}; Ménéstrier, *Vat. lat.* 10545, f. 234^{v}; see also Alemanni, *op. cit.*, p. 9 f. and Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, II, p. 140). The figures of Leo III and Charlemagne in the apse mosaic and the placing of the passage in Leo's biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* prior to Charlemagne's coronation of 800 suggest a date between 795 and 800 for Leo's building activity at S. Susanna. In 806 he donates a silver crown weighing 17 pounds and, at a later point, a hanging for the altar (*L.P.*, II, pp. 21, 31).

827—844 Gregory IV donates a textile "*ad gloriam ... virginis Susanne ... in eiusdem ecclesia ...*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 77).

XI or XII century Inscription above the door: "*super porta S. Susanna: Felicitati Susanne hec menia claudunt* (emend: *plaudunt*) *Nec non Gabino: quorum sacra corpora claudunt*"; preserved in the sylloge of Ciriaco d'Ancona (De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 383).

1475—1477 Sixtus IV remodels the church, retaining only the nave and apse and apparently vaulting part of the building; inscriptions, now lost, on the door lintel, "*in limine superforium* (or *superforio*): *Sixtus IIII anno jubilaei* MCCCCLXXV", and on the arch of the (chancel?) vault, "*in arcu fornicis: Maestro Johannis da Mantova è stato il maestro de muro cha fato questa opera del anno de 1477*". Both these inscriptions were noted in the sixteenth century (Rome, Vatican Library, Chig. I. V, 167, f. 327; copied by Corvisieri [Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, *busta* II, b-c] and published from this source by Cecchelli, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f.; also Urban, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 272). See also Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium*, p. 198: "*Hanc Sixtus IV refecit*"; Panvinio's additions to Platina, *Vitae Pontificum* ..., Cologne, 1626, p. 331, as quoted

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[1] It was found in 1743 inside the high altar of S. Vitale (De Rossi, *op. cit.*, 1870, p. 89 ff.).
[2] The date 799 is suggested by Huelsen, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone VII", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* I (1922), p. 110.
[3] The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, II, fasc. 10, Leipzig, 1906, col. 2179 f., gives for "*brevis*" the meanings of both shortness and narrowness.

by Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 158, note; and finally, Ugonio, *Stationi*, p. 192^{v}: "*... e convenientemente spatiosa; però senza colonnate o nave ...*"; c. 193^{v}: "*... restaurata* [*da*] *Sisto Quarto nel 1475 si come mostrano le armi ed iscrizioni, così fuora come dentro ...*".

1586 The church is ceded to the Cistercian nuns (Wasserman, *op. cit.*, p. 67, n. 235, quoting Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Congregazioni religiose, S. Susanna* 4445, *busta* 8; *ibid.*, n. 237, quoting the same, 4469).

1570—1603 Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci restores the church prior to 1588 (Ugonio, *Stationi*, p. 193 "*... a nostri tempi l'ha commodamente rassettata ...*") and in 1595 to 1603 rebuilds it; dated inscriptions: of 1595, on the chancel arch; of 1599, on the interior façade and on the inside of the side doors; and of 1603, on the street façade and the tomb in the pavement of the open confessio. He provides the church with a new façade and redecorates the interior with a ceiling, frescoes by Paris Nogari, Baldassare Croce and Matteo Zaccolini and plaster statues. He lays out an open confessio in front of the high altar: "*da fondamenta rifece la facciata di trevertini ... fece il soffitto in dorato, adornò le mura di pitture ... e le tramezzò con statue di stucco ... i lavori che con gran spesa ha fatto nella Tribuna, altar maggiore e la confessione ... e con belli scaglioni di marmo vi aperse il passo per visitare i corpi dei ... Santi ...*" (Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 341); the architect in charge is Carlo Maderno (Baglione, *Vite*, 1642, pp. 88, 298, 308, 316; 1733, pp. 83 f., 186, 196, 204; Caflisch, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.). The chapel of Saint Laurence, projecting on the left side, was decorated by Cesare Nebbia and G. B. Pozzo at the expense of Camilla Peretti, sister of Sixtus V (Baglione, *Vite*, 1642, pp. 40, 117; 1733, pp. 37, 111; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 341). To the left of the church, Cardinal Rusticucci builds a monastery for the nuns transferred there in 1587 (*sic*), and to the right, a residence for the use of the confessor and the parish priest (*ibid.*).

1938—1939 The houses adjacent to north flank of church are demolished, temporarily uncovering the north wall of the nave, the aisle wall and Roman walls (Krautheimer and Frankl, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ff.; Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Susanna faces Via Venti Settembre (called, until 1870, Strada Pia; in medieval and Roman times, Alta Semita), which runs along the ridge of the Quirinal Hill. The pavement of the Roman street has been found in the stretch of road in front of the church, corresponding in direction to the modern street but 1.83 meters below it [1], and thus about 3.25 m. below the level of the church floor. The façade of the church (fig. 210), a splendid example of Carlo Maderno's Early Baroque



(Photo: Richter)

Fig. 210. S. Susanna. Façade as of today



(Photo: Richter)

Fig. 211. S. Susanna. Interior

style, bears the dedicatory inscription of Cardinal Rusticucci and the date of completion, 1603. The single doorway is reached by a flight of steps and rises, with its threshold, 1.45 m. above the present level of the street. The true orientation of the church is from southeast to northwest, but for brevity we shall refer to the doorway as at the east end, the altar at the west end. As we see it today, the church is a simple hall, some 13.5 m. wide and 35.5 m. long, terminated by an apse and having no colonnades or aisles (pls. XV, XVI; fig. 211). The rectangular nave is divided into three equal parts by large pilasters which project from each side wall. Nave and chancel are separated by a triumphal arch which traverses the nave 10.5 m. in front of the apse and rises to an apex only slightly below the ceiling. The chancel is raised three steps above the general level of the nave. Just in front of the choir, side chapels recalling the wings of a transept project outward on each side of the nave: to the left is the Chapel of Saint Laurence, to the right, that of the Croci-

[1] Santangelo, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

fisso. At the foot of the choir steps and on the center line of the church, curved flights of stairs descend to an open confessio, whence one enters the crypt beneath the choir [1]. All this, like the façade, is the work of Carlo Maderno and dates from 1595 to 1603.

Excavations beneath the area of the nave, made in or before 1880 and accessible from the crypt, reveal the remains of several buildings of classical times (pls. XV, XVI) [2]. Other remains, both Roman and later, came to light in 1938 to the north of the church, when Piazza S. Susanna and Via Bissolati were laid out and the old houses attached to the flank of S. Susanna were torn down and replaced by the buildings of the Banca Commerciale and other offices. At that time other classical walls were discovered, and the removal of the adjacent buildings revealed, for a short time, part of the aisle wall of the old church and the entire north side wall of its nave, which was seen to be composed of three tiers of arcades (figs. 212 *a*, *b*) [3]. The south flank of the church is hidden inside the convent buildings which extend on that side, enclosing a courtyard.

E. ANALYSIS

1. Early structures beneath and beside the church

The remains of classical buildings found inside the area of the church in a basement beneath the nave floor are accessible from the sixteenth century open confessio. Reports regarding the excavation are wanting [4], but a number of walls are visible, though in part plastered over. Two distinct levels of construction are noted, with the earlier walls oblique to the alignment of the church and the later ones parallel with it. Both have been uncovered to the same level, about 3 meters below the church floor and thus roughly level with the Roman street pavement in front of the church, 3.25 m. below floor level (pl. XV) [5].

a) Below the nave, first phase

The walls of the earlier period are faced with a good *opus reticulatum*, strengthened by brick at the corners and at the door jambs. The tesserae of the reticulate average 65 by 65 mm.; the mortar is white and hard, the beds fine. Three walls of this system survive, all at present enclosed in a chamber about 8 m. east of the open confessio; one runs at a 30° angle to the axis of the church: the second is at right angles to the first and contains a doorway; the third is parallel to the second wall at a distance of only 1.45 m. and thus apparently defines a corridor. A column base oriented to agree with this earlier system stands 6.00 m. east of the first wall, at a level of 2.75 m. below the church floor; Lanciani appears to have seen a second column base nearby and oriented in the same direction [6]. At the same level a fine mosaic pavement, black with white specks, extends from the first reticulate wall to the column base and beyond. There is not enough material for definite conclusions, but we seem to be confronted with a rich mansion of first century date [7].

[1] See also, Hubala, "Roma sotterranea barocca", *Das Münster* 18 (1965), pp. 157 ff.

[2] The only hint regarding the date of these excavations is given by two graves in the basement floor, dated 1880 and prepared for the parishioners of S. Susanna.

[3] Krautheimer and Frankl, *op. cit.*; Giovannoni, *op. cit.*

[4] The walls are sketchily indicated by Lanciani, *F. U. R.*, pl. 10.

[5] See above, p. 258.

[6] Lanciani, *F. U. R.*, pl. 10.

[7] We are indebted to the late Mrs. Doris Taylor Bishop for giving us her opinion on the date of the classical remains.

b) Below the nave, second phase

A rectangular grid of later walls envelops and overlies the remains of the earlier period (pl. XV). Three parallel walls, reticulate at the base and brick-faced above, lie at right angles to the basilica, 3.5 to 4 m. apart and beginning some 13 m. east of the apse. The reticulate masonry is somewhat coarse, with tesserae ranging from 80 to 105 mm. square and with mortar beds from 15 to 25 mm. thick. On the other hand, the brickwork is good, with bricks ranging from 30 to 40 mm. in height and with mortar beds from 16 to 22 mm. thick, but averaging only 18 mm. The south extremity of the three walls disappears in the footings of the south wall of the basilica; but to the north two of the walls terminate at a cross wall built of brick, parallel with the north side wall of the basilica and 1.5 m. inside it. The third wall continues north into the unexcavated area of the present north chapel. Further east, near and in part below Maderno's façade, a fourth and fifth wall of the same make, but differently oriented, seem to belong to the same building. We shall see that walls of the same orientation as the first three walls in this group and of comparable build were noted in 1938 in the area formerly occupied by the right aisle of the church, as well as further north. The failure of these walls to correspond with the plan of the basilica, although normal to it, shows that they belong to some pre-existing structure which was destroyed when the basilica was built. The walls seem to be mere foundations and cellar walls and offer little information about the buildings which they supported. The combination of brick and reticulate masonry appears to suggest a date in the first third of the second century.

c) North and east of the church

Behind the apse and passing close to it, a section of the Republican city wall (the Servian Wall), running almost exactly north-south, came to light in 1938 (pls. XV, XVI). Obviously this is an extension of the fragment of the same wall which is still exposed in the garden of Piazza S. Susanna a few meters to the north [1]. The portion of the wall discovered nearer the church consists primarily of a massive *opus quadratum* structure, 2.55 m. thick, faced internally (to the east) with a revetment of *opus incertum*, and subsequently strengthened on the west side by the addition of other parallel walls of brick. Altogether, the final thickness of the wall was not less than 10 m. These remains are found in the sides of a cellar which lies west of the apse, hewn partly out of the ground and partly out of the fabric of the city wall. What remains of the original *quadratum* masonry stands 3 m. high, its topmost course rising to a level which is 1.10 m. below the general level of the church floor. The courses of tufa blocks are 0.60 m. high.

Remnants of later, but still classical, date were uncovered briefly in 1938 to the north of the church, when the old houses adjoining its flank along the Via Regina Elena were demolished [2]. Like the walls below the nave, those along the north flank seem to indicate two distinct strata of occupation; an upper layer which lies at right angles to the church, and an earlier layer which is oblique and therefore more nearly (though not perfectly) in alignment with the Republican defenses. The earlier walls are faced either with *opus reticulatum* or with brick, the mortarbeds being quite fine, from 14 to 20 mm. in height. The walls of the upper stratum are brick-faced and

[1] Nash, *Dictionary*, II, p. 104, fig. 804; and, more generally, Santangelo, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[2] The haste with which the demolition was carried out and the political circumstances then prevailing made it impossible to prepare an exact survey. However, Mr. Wolfgang Frankl, through his untiring energy, succeeded at least in executing a reliable, partial, sketchplan of the finds, accompanied by helpful notes, and in having a few photographs taken (figs. 211 *a*, *b*; 214, 215, 216, 217, 222). For this every archeologist must be greatly indebted to him. See also Krautheimer and Frankl, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ff.

Fig. 212*a*. S. Susanna. North wall during demolition of adjoining houses, 1938



(Photo: Sansaini)



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 212*b*. S. Susanna. North wall after demolition of adjoining houses, 1939

have slightly thicker mortarbeds. Both the earlier and later walls could be traced along the north flank of the nave, extending as far as 15 m. from the present nave wall. Other short pieces of Roman walls were seen projecting from the north and west walls of the north chapel and from the north wall of the present chancel. Among the earlier remains, a column base was found in the lower level, 2.15 m. below church floor level. Since this is 60 cm. higher than the level of the base that is preserved below the present nave, the two bases could not have belonged to the same colonnade. But they probably belonged to the same house, since a fine black mosaic pavement marked with white specks was seen near the column outside the church, exactly like the pavement still preserved in the area below the nave. The later building, normal to the church, included a

small brick niche, 1.48 m. in diameter, facing east and now embedded in the foundations of the north chapel. Remnants of floors of *opus spinatum* were found at two points in the later building complex, one at a point north of the nave flank and the other embedded in the chancel wall.

Nowhere is enough evidence preserved to arrive at a clear idea of either the earlier or the later buildings which antedate the church on the site. The orientation of the earlier structures was apparently determined by the direction of the Servian city wall. The unearthed fragments of decoration, including the column bases and the white-speckled mosaic pavements, point to its being a wealthy *domus*, built near and against that wall after it had become obsolete. The later structure, laid out without regard to the old city wall, was perhaps less elegant, but it was certainly large.

2. The basilica

The two main side walls of the basilica, each originally with three tiers of openings, still exist practically intact. The north wall was seen almost in its entirety during the excavations of 1938 to 1939 (figs. 212 *a*, *b*). Near the apse, the three westernmost bays of its two upper stories are still visible from across the street above the roofs of the adjacent office buildings and can be examined conveniently from the roof terrace on the second floor of these buildings (figs. 219 *a*, *b*). Likewise the two easternmost windows of the clerestorey tier can be studied near the rear of Maderno's façade from the third floor roof terraces (fig. 218), while further down in a light shaft, the fourth and fifth of the ground-floor arcades have remained visible. The south wall, too, survives in its full length. The clerestorey, from its second original window to the eighth, counting from the façade, is visible from a window across the courtyard (fig. 221). The five westernmost windows near the apse and the clerestorey corner can be examined in the attic of the convent buildings (figs. 220 *a-d*). Likewise, from this attic one notes below the sills of these windows the crowns of the arches of the second tier openings and, surmounting the apse roof, the rear wall of the nave. The rest of the second and the entire first tier of this south wall are hidden by the buildings of the present sacristy and by the chambers of the convent.

The walls are 17.0 m. high and 0.70 m. thick and show brickwork of excellent workmanship; five courses rise between 22 and 30.5 cm., but the average is about 25.5 to 26.5 cm. The courses are remarkably even with only slight undulations. Occasionally a course shifts from one to two bricks; but such irregularities are rare, as is the use of flanged tiles instead of bricks, and of very thin bricks. On the average the bricks have a height of 3.4 cm. and are very little rubbed at the corners; most are of large size, and they seem to have been new when the walls were built. The mortar contains a large proportion of brick particles which give it a greyish-red hue; the mortar beds range from 1.4 to 2.5 cm. and are struck off flush with the wall face. The arches of the numerous openings are built with single rings of bipedals of uniform size, 59 cm. long and accurately set in radius; in the radial joints between the bipedals, the mortar occasionally is struck off in double facets (figs. 214; 220 *a*, *b*, *c*).

The north wall of the nave rises from a stylobate wall, neatly built of brick of the make just described. It can still be seen in the basement of the church, and its outer face was exposed in nearly its entire length during the demolition of the adjacent buildings in 1938 to 1939 (fig. 213). At that time the stylobate wall was exposed to a depth of 3.60 m. below the level of the present nave floor; it was seen to have a setback, 0.15 m. wide and 1.80 m. below nave level, and to terminate 0.90 m. below the modern floor. A sewer, covered *a cappuccina* and protected by a flat relieving arch, pierces the lower portion of the stylobate wall ca. 3 m. from the façade. Rising from this upper stylobate, the side wall of the nave shows three tiers of arched openings with thir-

teen arches to each tier. The original arcades of the lower story rise to an apex 6.30 m. above the brick stylobate (pl. XVI; fig. 213 right). They appear to have rested on colonnades; but the columns were no longer to be seen in 1938, and it is not known whether all were removed in the fifteenth and sixteenth century remodelings or whether some still survive inside the blocking masonry. Certainly their bases rested on top of the stylobate and thus were 0.90 m. below the modern nave floor. The number of columns on each side of the nave must have been twelve, carrying thirteen arches, and each column must have been about 5 m. in height. The middle story had thirteen arched openings, 3.40 m. high and 1.60 m. wide, separated by rectangular brick piers, 1.05 m. in width; the thirteen openings of the top story are 2.20 m. high and 1.44 m. wide, while the separating piers are each 1.18 m. wide (figs. 214, 218, 219 *a*, *b*). About half way between the apex of the middle-story arches and the sills of the upper story — precisely centered on the piers between the openings — a row of large, uniform stone brackets, carved with a cyma profile, project from the external face of the wall. These evidently supported the beams of a lean-to roof covering the galleried aisles of the basilica (fig. 218).



Fig. 213. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, showing foundation, stylobate and springing of arcades, 1938

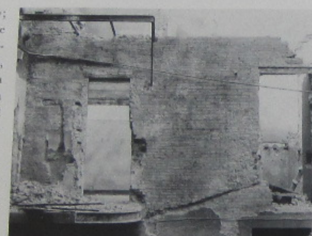
The outer wall of the north aisle was demolished in 1938 to 1939, but measurements and photographs taken at the time show its position and the features of its construction (pl. XV, figs. 215, 216 *a*, *b*). It ran parallel to the nave, at a distance of 4.65 m. at its east end, 4.70 m. at its west end, and was built solidly of brick, not of concrete with brick facing. The bricks ranged from 27 to 44 mm. in height, averaging 34 mm., the mortar beds from 13 to 40, averaging 20 mm.; thus five courses rose to 27, six to 32 cm., and the overall impression closely recalls the brickwork of the nave wall. However, the foundation of the aisle wall, instead of being built of brick, as a stylobate with upper and lower portions, was made of blocks taken from the Servian Wall, so frequently employed in church foundations by eighth and ninth century builders. The aisle wall could be traced from the northeast corner of the original church façade through the length of the Cappella del Crocifisso, which projects north from the nave. Two stumps, embedded in the east and west wall



(Photo: Frankl)

Fig. 214. S. Susanna. North wall of nave, showing clerestorey and gallery arcades, 1938

of that chapel respectively (figs. 216 *a*, *b*; 217), showed the surviving height of the wall at that point, 2.50 m. above the modern church level, made of solid brick, with the Servian foundation blocks laid in three courses. From the façade, for a stretch of some eight meters, the aisle wall was seen to rise even higher, roughly nine meters above the present floor level, thus reaching nearly half the height of the second tier of arcades on the nave wall (figs. 212 *a*, 215). Along the inner wall of the façade, the slope of the aisle roof was marked by an ascending line of beam holes which ended on the nave wall at the exact level of the sills of the openings in the third tier (fig. 218, left edge). Between the north chapel and the apse, a thin foundation wall ran across the width of the former aisle. It would seem to have carried a chancel screen.

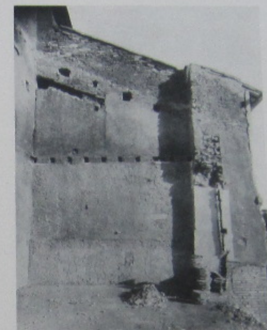


(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 215. S. Susanna. Wall of north aisle, 1938

In view of the data set out in the preceding paragraphs, it is clear that the three tiers of openings in the north wall of the present church represent the ground-floor arcades, the arcaded gallery and the clerestorey windows of a basilica provided with galleries above the aisles; further, that the aisle wall reached to about half the height of the gallery openings and carried a sloping roof which ascended to nearly the level of the window sills on the nave wall.

At the west end of the north wall a curved brick excrescence projects north from the wall face, in line with the jamb of the last gallery arch and the clerestorey window above it (figs. 219 *a*, *b*, *c*). The end wall of the north aisle must have stood in this place and the broken brickwork in the lower part of the projection may be explained as the stump of that wall, but we have no satisfactory explanation to offer for the curved west face of the buttress and the upward continuation of the excrescence above the level of the former gallery roof. Below the projection the wall of the gallery



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 216*a*. S. Susanna. North chapel, from east, 1938



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 217. S. Susanna. North chapel from west, 1938

zone seems to continue west, parallel with the axis of the church, but the evidence is scanty. On the other hand, at the east end, 11 cm. from the rear of Maderno's façade, a rupture in the brickwork shows where the original façade corner was broken off in the early seventeenth century (pl. XVI).



(Photo: Frankl, 1958)

Fig. 216*b*. S. Susanna. North chapel, lower portions, from northeast, after further demolition of adjoining buildings

The south wall of the nave is hidden in its lower part by the buildings of the convent and of the sacristy. Thus the two lower tiers can no longer be examined. However, in the convent attic, the clerestorey zone can be well examined in its westernmost section near the apse. The corner which the clerestorey makes with the rear wall of the nave is extraordinarily well built (figs. 220 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). The left jamb of the westernmost window of the south clerestorey starts 2.20 m. from that corner, and below the window emerges the arch of the first opening on the gallery level. Jambs and arches of the following four windows and gallery openings, the ninth through the thirteenth from the façade, are likewise visible, though in part destroyed by later remodelings, or hidden by the roof construction, or — in the case of the window arches — rising above the roof. Width, spacing and height of the window openings correspond to those of the north clerestorey. Below the left jamb of the westernmost, or thirteenth, window an indented suture runs vertically through the brickwork, and below this suture a diagonal fissure separates the left third of the gallery arch



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 218. S. Susanna. Rear of façade and north clerestorey 1939

from its right hand sector (fig. 220 *a*). The brickwork is the same on either side and corresponds exactly to that noted throughout the north flank of the nave. The suture and fissure are at first puzzling, but they are easily explained: masons first built the apse, the rear wall of the nave and the adjoining corners of the clerestorey; they then continued along the north side, the façade and from there along the south clerestorey, until meeting again the westernmost window jamb [1]. Further east the clerestorey can be seen above the roof of the convent buildings from across the courtyard south of the church (fig. 221). The visible stretch of clerestorey begins above the first of the rectangular sixteenth century windows, at a distance of roughly 2.40 m. from the side buttress at the rear of Maderno's façade wall. The spacing and width of the windows, the technique of the brick masonry and the formation of the arches are the same as in the west portion of the south clerestorey, examined in the attic of the convent, and in the north clerestorey wall. Noteworthy, however, is a noticeable outward bulge in the south clerestorey, starting between the fourth and fifth of the original window openings and continuing toward the façade (fig. 222).

The apse which closes the west end of the basilica is decorated internally with Baroque plasterwork; nothing remains of Leo III's mosaic half dome. On the outside only the uppermost part of the original apse wall is visible (fig. 223); its half-cylindrical wall, inside the convent, is plastered over and no window openings, if ever they existed, are discernible. The visible top portion of the apse wall is constructed in brickwork much like that of the nave wall in appearance. At the eaves, it is crowned by a cornice of three overhanging brick courses, supported by a row of projecting stone brackets which in turn rest on a stringcourse formed by two overhanging bricks [2].

[1] Apolloni Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 29 f. thought he observed a difference in the technique of masonry employed in the lower and upper portions of the stretch of wall close to the apse, with wider mortar beds above and lower ones below., He also thought the rear section of the clerestorey and the apse were later than the rest of the building. Both these observations are erroneous, as is his conclusion that the stretch of the clerestorey close to the rear wall of the nave is of Carolingian date.

[2] Apolloni Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 28, believes that the cornice is typically ninth century in character, an attribution with which we cannot agree, nor do we think there is any foundation for his conclusion that the exterior masonry of the apse is Carolingian construction. See below, p. 274 f.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 219*a*. S. Susanna. North wall, western extremity



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 219*b*. S. Susanna. North wall, western extremity, detail on gallery level



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 219*c*. S. Susanna. North wall, western extremity, detail

The brackets have the same profile as those which supported the aisle roofs; possibly they were rifled from the nearby Baths of Diocletian, where hundreds of the same kind of bracket occur in the cornices.

Part of the foundations of the façade wall survives beneath Maderno's façade and is visible in the cellars below the nave floor (pls. XV, XVI). A massive foundation structure, at right angles with the axis of the church and composed of reused Servian blocks with brick-filled interstices, oversails an *opus reticulatum* wall, obliquely set and thus part of the earlier of the two Roman layers discussed. The oversailing foundation wall extends from close to the southeast corner of the nave to beyond its center line for a length of over eight meters, and its building technique is that customary in Rome



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 220*a*. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, clerestorey, western extremity and westernmost window, inside attic of convent



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 220*b*. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, clerestorey, between tenth and eleventh windows from east, inside attic of convent



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 220*c*. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, clerestorey, westernmost window, detail, inside attic of convent



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 220*d*. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, clerestorey, twelfth window, blocking in *falsa cortina*

in Carolingian times. On top of the foundation wall, there lies in cross section a stratum of what appear to be heavy travertine floor slabs, 0.22 m. thick. This floor lies 1.50 m. below the level of the present nave and extends in breadth for 2.20; m. on each side of the axis of the church. It is thus at least 4.40 m. in width — too wide to be part of a door threshold; moreover, it is too low in level. It is also too low to correspond with the original floor of the basilica, which is known from the brick stylobate of the north colonnade to have been not more than 0.90 m. below present floor level. In short, the travertine paving slabs do not seem to belong to the church proper; the

Fig. 221. S. Susanna. South wall of nave, clerestorey



(Photo: Bertelli)



(Photo: Krautheimer)



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 223. S. Susanna. Apse and buttress, detail

Fig. 222. S. Susanna. South clerestorey from campanile, showing bulge in wall

section which is seen in the foundations of the east wall may perhaps be explained as belonging to the narthex outside the east wall, which was still seen by Panvinio [1].

The Servian foundation blocks are not limited to the east wall of the nave. They continue in the south wall and extend west for a stretch of over four meters, oversailing here too one of the *opus reticulatum* walls of the earlier of the Roman layers. The southeast corner, where the foundations of the south wall of the nave and the façade would have met, is at present not accessible, but the walls are obviously of the same make. On the other hand, below the north wall of the nave, the brick stylobate continues to the northeast corner of the façade (fig. 213).

[1] Panvinio, *ms. cit.*, f. 63: "*S. Susanna habet porticum dirutum ante se* (?)". We are indebted to Professor Augusto Campana for his help in deciphering Panvinio's often illegible hand.

The outer wall of the south aisle has not been identified. We presume it stood in line with the south side of the modern sacristy. So far only one ancient feature has been discovered embedded in this wall; a small column shaft of white marble surmounted by an Ionic capital and, above, a wedge-shaped impost block with a few bricks of the arch which it once supported (fig. 224). The springing of the arch is only 3.0 m. above floor level. and it seems to be the remains of some small arched opening which once existed in this flank of the south aisle. The impost block is of a type known in fourth century Roman churches[1]; but the type may well have been common still in the fifth century. In any event, the block at S. Susanna is obviously broken and in second use and the brickwork above it is medieval.



(Photo: Ferrelli)

Fig. 224. S. Susanna. Wall of south aisle, showing column and springing of arch

The masonry which seals the original openings in the north side wall of the nave generally consists of rough tufa blocks with occasional brick courses and other fragments of brickwork inserted in the interstices of the tufa[2]. In addition, half piers built of finer rubble, faced with brick and projecting out into the area of the aisle, were added to the blocking masonry in walling up the ground floor arcades. Clearly visible on photographs taken in 1938 (fig. 213), these half piers corresponded to the third column and fourth arcade, the seventh arcade, and the tenth arcade and column. The latter two survive in the west and east walls of the north chapel, where they carry relieving arches (figs. 216 *a*, *b*; 217).

While both the north and south projecting chapels are at present rectangular in plan, at least the north chapel was seen in 1938 to have been formerly apsed. The apse opening is sealed up by a flat brick wall; but the rough wall faces which, until 1938, appeared on each side of the roundheaded blocking wall were the core of the original apse wall; they were sliced away to make room for adjacent buildings. Our photograph (fig. 212 *b*) depicts the north side of the church before this mutilation took place and shows the character of the masonry in which the apse was formerly enclosed: coursed rubble composed of brick and tufa fragments, bound at the corners with substantial stone quoins — a type of masonry which was common in the fifteenth century.

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[1] Josi, Krautheimer and Corbett, "Note Lateranensi", *R. A. C.* 23 (1957), p. 79 ff., esp. fig. 4; see also above, Vol. I, p. 127 and pl. 20.

[2] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 35. maintains that these arcades were blocked under Leo III. The character of the blocking masonry makes this contention untenable.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

The several stages through which these buildings have evolved can be briefly summarized.

1. Antecedent buildings

Originally the site was bounded to the west by the Republican city wall; in the earliest period, the house or houses which stood just inside the wall were oriented in conformity with it. This wall and its dependent houses were subsequently demolished to make way for new buildings, set at an angle to the original layout. However, the two *domus*, of first and early second century date respectively, which successively occupied the area of S. Susanna are outside the scope of our investigations, and their remains are too scanty for any serious attempt at visualizing their original plans.

2. The basilica

On the other hand, within the walls of the present church, the core of a large hall which replaced the second *domus* survives to a considerable extent in the wall of the apse to its full height, in the flanking walls of the nave with their three superimposed tiers of openings, and in the brick stylobate of the north wall of the nave. All these parts, with the exception of the later blocking of the apertures, are bonded together, including the curved buttress at the northwest corner of the nave. They are uniformly built of concrete, faced with excellent new brick; and they are constructed with great care, including the radially laid voussoirs of the three tiers and the brick stylobate of the rising wall. Only the foundations of the façade in their southern two thirds, which survive below Maderno's façade, do not apparently form part of this hall but belong to a later rebuilding.

In attempting to present a graphic reconstruction of this building, the first impression one gains is of a single-naved apsed hall with flanks pierced by two superimposed rows of windows over a blank stretch of wall, thus recalling the Constantinian *Sedes Justitiae* at Trier. Tempting though it is, however, this reconstruction must be discarded. The replacement of the blank stretch of wall by arcades, while possible, would be difficult; furthermore, the arches of these arcades are exactly like those of the upper two tiers of apertures; the row of brackets between the second and the third tier is part of the original construction; the scar of a wall broken off at the edge of the curved buttress reaches to the full height of the second tier of openings, thus suggesting the rear wall of an aisle, built to that level and parallel to the nave; finally, the different sizes of the openings in the second and the third tier suggests that they served different functions. Considering all these factors, one must conclude that the building can only have been a basilica consisting of nave and aisles with galleries above the latter.

The basilica has the same orientation as the second Roman *domus* and may make use of some of the preceding walls in its foundations, but this is not certain. It was 35.50 m. (120 R. ft.) long and had a nave 13.50 m. (45 R. ft.) wide. Colonnades, each of twelve columns with thirteen arches — as they survive in the lowest tier of openings along the north flank of the present church — separated the nave from the aisles and supported the upper stories. The galleries opened onto the nave through thirteen arched openings alternating with rectangular piers; both openings and piers are almost intact in the second tier of the present nave wall. The gallery roofs rested on stone brackets built into the piers above the level of the gallery arches. Above these roofs rose the clerestorey walls, each with thirteen round-headed windows, as seen in the still visible third tier.

The total height of the clerestorey wall is 16.70 m., roughly 55 R. ft., above the stylobate of the nave colonnade, the stylobate being taken to represent the approximate level of the original basilica floor. The original width of the aisles in this first basilica cannot be determined, and they may have been quite narrow. Indeed, the outer wall of the north aisle may have rested on a wall of the second Roman *domus* which was seen in 1938 running roughly along the center axis of the later north aisle of the basilica after its remodeling (pl. XV). Nothing is known regarding the façade of the original nave except its position, marked by the end pier of the north nave colonnade as it was seen in 1938 (pls. XV, XVI; fig. 218 *left edge*).

3. Carolingian rebuilding

This first basilica seems to have suffered considerable damage at some time, whether through fire or earthquake is not known. Apparently the southeast sector of the nave suffered in particular, as indicated by the bulge in the south clerestorey wall starting between the fourth and fifth of the original windows and continuing toward the façade. Indeed, the original façade of the first basilica may have collapsed, necessitating a major rebuilding which involved either the foundations or indeed the entire façade, a short stretch of the foundations of the south wall of the nave, and the entire north aisle. The new parts are characterized by the use in the foundation walls of blocks pilfered from the Servian wall with bricks stuffed into the interstices. The side walls of the nave and the wall of the apse apparently remained unchanged, while the north aisle was given the width which it retained until the late fifteenth century — 4.60 to 4.70 m., roughly one third the width of the nave. Its foundation wall to the north was well preserved in 1938, as was the aisle wall rising from these foundations (figs. 215; 216*a*, *b*). But, unlike the foundation wall, this aisle wall was clearly not of a Carolingian type; rather it was a medieval construction[1]. No trace of the aisle wall of the first, or Carolingian, rebuilding had apparently survived above foundation level in 1938. On the other hand it seems that the galleries above the aisles were retained in the rebuilding, thus leaving unchanged the overall plan of the building except perhaps for the width of the aisles. It also seems possible that in the course of rebuilding a crypt was inserted into the apse. A confessio existed below the high altar until 1595, sheltering the inscription which had possibly given rise to the fictitious family tree presented in the *Passio Susannae*[2]. Whether or not this confessio was approached by, the corridors of an annular crypt cannot be ascertained, but it is very possible in view of the Carolingian date of the first rebuilding[3]. Certainly the mosaic which decorated the apse until 1595 belonged to this first rebuilding campaign.

4. Medieval rebuilding

A second remodeling appears to have taken place in the course of the high Middle Ages, presumably in the twelfth century. Its only relic is the wall of the north aisle. It was destroyed in 1938, but the evidence then observed makes it clear that the wall was not contemporaneous with the Carolingian foundation on which it rested but showed the masonry technique of twelfth century

[1] See above, p. 263 f.

[2] Panvinio, *ms. cit.*, f. 63: "*Habet confessionem sub ara maxima in qua sculptum est olim pbri Gabini filia felix hic susanna iacet in pace patri sociata ...*"; Ugonio, *ms. cit.*, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 127: "*Dentro la confessione che è sotto l'altar maggiore sono i corpi di S. Susanna e Felice comme è scritto sul Marmo sopra la confessione: Olim presbiteri...*"; see also, Idem, *Stationi*, p. 192v.

[3] See below, p. 275 f.

Rome. Three other elements may also date from this second medieval rebuilding: the floor of the nave, possibly *opus vermiculatum* (*intarsiatura*), which was visible in fragments until 1595[1]; a chancel screen, mentioned by Panvinio[2], the foundation of which was seen in 1938 running across the area of the north aisle; and the narthex, fragments of which survived until the late sixteenth century[3]. Lastly, the column and arch which have been uncovered in the wall of the south aisle (fig. 224) are presumably part of this second remodeling, suggesting that during this period the south aisle or part of it communicated through one or more arches with an adjoining area.

5. Fifteenth century rebuilding



(Cose maravigliose, c. 39v)

Fig. 225. S. Susanna. Fra Santi, façade

A third rebuilding reduced the basilica to a single nave (fig. 225)[4]. The aisles and galleries were abandoned; the first and second tier of openings in the nave wall were blocked with rough rubble masonry; the columns which originally supported the arcades of the first tier were either removed or enclosed in the blocking masonry, and the blocking masonry was given buttress-like projections at the third column and fourth arcade, the seventh arcade, and the tenth arcade and column. At the same time some of the clerestorey windows were closed and a few of them were enlarged. We also assign to this stage the building of the transeptal side chapels, which occupy part of the former aisles. The north chapel was certainly apsed, and it is likely that the south chapel was too, thus giving the impression of a trefoil chancel.

6. Baroque remodeling

Finally, in a fourth and last stage, the church took its present form. The baroque façade was built facing Via XX Settembre (then Strada Pia); new rectangular windows were broken in the walls of both the east and west clerestoreys; in the interior, a triumphal arch was built separating the nave from the chancel; ornamental piers were placed against the side walls of the nave; and a coffered ceiling was inserted. The apses in the side chapels were suppressed, the main apse was redecorated, and the whole interior was reclothed with paintings and stuccoes characteristic of the last years of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth century (figs. 210, 211).

[1] Ugonio; *ms. cit.*, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 127v: "*Si vedano i vestigi del pavimento antico*"; Idem, *Stationi*, p. 192v: "*Il piano della chiesa con opera moderna ... mostra nondimeno alcuni vestigi dell'intarsiatura antica*".

[2] Panvinio, *ms. cit.*, f. 63: "*Olim habuit chorum more aliorum in reportatione (?) mutatum est*".

[3] See above, p. 269, n. 1.

[4] See above, dig. 1475-1477.

G. CHRONOLOGY

1. The Roman domus

The date of the construction of the two Roman *domus* which consecutively occupied the site of S. Susanna and the area immediately to the north can be determined only by their building techniques. Based on this evidence the earlier *domus*, which stands obliquely to the axis of the church, appears to date from the third quarter of the first century A. D. The white-speckled black mosaic pavement, as well as the reticulate walls with brick quoins, find parallels in Pompeian houses of the third style[1]. The second *domus*, whose axial system coincides with that of the church, may well date from the first third of the second century, despite the coarseness of the reticulate employed.

2. The church

Hitherto, the basilica which came to occupy the site of the second domus, and which was uncovered in 1938, seemed to be unusually well dated. The explicit description given by the *Liber Pontificalis* of the work undertaken by Leo III appeared to prove incontrovertibly that the entire structure including its nave, aisles, galleries and apse was built during Leo's pontificate, 795 to 814. The inscription below the apse mosaic and the figures of Leo III and Charlemagne in the mosaic seemed to corroborate the date of construction, and the position of the account in Leo's biography appeared to suggest more precisely the years prior to 800. Further documentary evidence seemed to provide a *terminus post quem* in the account of the *Passio Susannae*, the author of which still saw in the sixth century two adjoining *domus* on the site, one containing the *cubiculum* of Saint Susanna. Strong as it was, this mass of documentary proof seemed to be further strengthened when in 1938 to 1939 the original basilica was uncovered within the walls and north of the sixteenth century nave. The presence of galleries in a church *intra*, not *extra moenia* seemed to find its closest parallels in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin as remodeled by Hadrian I, Leo's predecessor[2]. Also, the Servian blocks found in the foundations of the nave façade, of the adjoining short stretch of the south wall of the nave, and of the north aisle wall pointed unmistakably to a date in the late eighth or the ninth centuries[3].

However, a number of elements of a technical nature militate against assigning so late a date to the building in its entirety. The narrowness of the brick beds, from 16 to 23 mm., and the modulus of the coursing, 5½ or 5 bricks and an equal number of mortar beds per Roman foot, prove little either for or against a Carolingian date of construction. On the other hand, no building in Rome of the eighth or ninth century shows brickwork as regular as that used in the apse and nave walls of S. Susanna. On the contrary, the structures of the Carolingian period, from the pontificate of Hadrian I (772-795) to that of Leo IV (847-855), are uniformly marked by undulating brick courses, by walls bulging out of the plumb line, and by mortar beds of constantly varying thickness. S. Anastasia, S. Cecilia, S. Francesca Romana (S. Maria Nuova), S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Martino ai Monti, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, S. Prassede,

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[1] Blake, "The pavements of the Roman buildings ...", *Memoirs American Academy in Rome* 8 (1930), pp. 61, 64, pls. 13, 14; Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, Rome, 1957, pls. 149-153.

[2] See above, Vol. II, pp. 292 ff., 300. The galleries at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla were then unknown to us; see above, Vol. III, p. 150 ff.

[3] This was consequently the date accepted by Krautheimer and Frankl, *op. cit.*, p. 388 ff., and by Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.

and S. Stefano degli Abessini are well-dated examples[1], and in none of them do we find the smooth, even coursing which marks the nave walls of S. Susanna. Nowhere in the eighth and ninth centuries are the bricks so uniformly new; nowhere are arches laid out with such beautiful bipedals in one single ring of voussoirs placed perfectly radially and thus vastly different from the arches found in the eighth and ninth century churches listed, where invariably the windows are spanned by double voussoirs composed of bricks of different length, haphazardly collected and placed without ever achieving consistent radiality. Nowhere in Carolingian times is the mortar ever struck off in double facets. And nowhere in Carolingian construction in Rome is there known, so far, a brick stylobate like the one which carries the right wall of the nave of S. Susanna with its triple tier of openings. Indeed, the construction technique of S. Susanna, including the double faceting of the mortar joints in the arches, finds its closest parallels in Roman buildings of the late third and the fourth centuries: S. Balbina; the loggia of the *statio Annonae* incorporated into the front part of S. Maria in Cosmedin; the great hall built into the convent of S. Lucia in Selcis[2]. Even the wedge-shaped impost block used in the wall of the south aisle suggests that it originally came from a fourth or fifth century building. Based on the technical features alone, one would not hesitate to assign the nave wall and the apse of S. Susanna to the fourth century, unless, that is, one were to maintain that the workmen of Leo III carefully imitated all the technical features of fourth century builders — a most unlikely hypothesis. To be sure, this fourth century structure at S. Susanna need not have been built as a church. It might well have been a secular basilica belonging to one of the many *domus* in the sixth region, the *Alta Semita*. Nor perhaps, given the scarcity of our knowledge of fourth century secular building in Rome, should we be unduly disturbed by the appearance of a secular basilica with aisles, galleries and apse, though otherwise unknown. Moreover, the reference of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* to the two *domus* does not militate against this hypothesis, nor does the specific elaboration of the *Passio Susannae* which assigns one of the houses to Pope Gaius, the other to Gavinus, and locates in the latter the *cubiculum* of Susanna. The fifth and sixth century compilers could indeed have seen two *domus* on the site, or near each other, one incorporating the basilica (and hence in their eyes the *domus* of Gaius), the other sheltering the *cubiculum* of the saint, at their time perhaps an oratory[3].

a) The first rebuilding

The suggestion of a fourth century date seems to be widely at variance with the documentary evidence which appears to attribute the entire church to the building activity of Leo III. However,

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[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 53, 107, 229 f.; Vol. II, pp. 293, 317; Vol. III, pp. 109, 143, 248. For S. Stefano degli Abissini, see above, p. 196 f., and Giovannoni, "La Chiesa Vaticana di San Stefano Maggiore", *Mem. Pont. Accad.* 4 (1934), p. 1 ff.

[2] See above, Vol. I, p. 87 f., Vol. II, pp. 186 f., 288. We had arrived at the conclusion of a fourth century date for the nave as early as 1962/3 and are happy to find it confirmed by the findings of Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ff. As is clear from these pages, however, we cannot agree with Apollonj Ghetti's conclusions regarding a ninth century date for the apse and upper part of the south wall adjacent to the apse and the west end of the north aisle.

[3] See above, digs. ca. 422, VI century. Cecchelli (Armellini-Cecchelli, *Chiese*, p. 1459 f.) has proposed identifying one of the domus with a group of Romam ruins opposite S. Susanna and near the seventeenth century church of S. Caio. The ruins, according to Cecchelli, were exavated in the last decade of the nineteenth century. (Tomassetti, "Della colonna detta di Enrico IV sull'Esquilino" *Bull. Com.* 10 [1882], p. 77; Capannari, "Delle scoperte archeologiche avvenute per la costruzione del palazzo del Ministero della Guerra", *Bull. Com.* 13 [1885], p. 5; Lanciani, "Supplementi al Volume IV del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*", *Bull. Com.* 13 [1885], p. 103; Capannari, "Di un mitreo pertinente alla casa de' Nummi scoperto nella via Firenze", *Bull. Com.* 14 [1886], p. 17). In our opinion they might well be the ruins described by sixteenth and seventeenth century antiquarians as having thick walls, half piers and niches and still showing traces of wall paintings and identified by them as the house and church of Pope Gaius. (See Ciacconius, Vat. lat. 5407 "... *ruinae domus Caii Papae et ecclesiae in eius memoriam constructae* ..."; Ugonio, *ms. cit.*, Barb. lat. 2161, f. 29v: "... *insignis fabricae vestigia. Muri crassi diversis parastatis et absidibus intermediis quae olim* [?] *minio caeruleo aliisque pictae erant coloribus* ...", accompanied by sketch; and Torrigio, *Discorso dell'antica chiesa di S. Caio*, Barb. lat. 4625, f. 1 f.: "... *luoco veramente degno d'essere da fondamenti rinovato* ..."). Attractive though it is, Cecchelli's hypothesis does not gibe with the statement of the *Passio* to the effect that the house of Gaius adjoined that of Gavinius or was joined to it (*iungebantur*).

closer reading of this evidence, as set forth in Leo's biography and in his dedicatory inscription[1], allows for a different interpretation.

The court biographer of the pope would obviously stress the achievements of his papal master. But in listing these, he refrains from specifying that the church was built *a fundamentis*. He only states, quite matter of factly: an old building existed, but it was "*breviter constructus*", presumably meaning too narrow rather than too short[2]; it was made wider — "*in amplum largavit*"; the foundation (or a foundation) was made anew, "*noviter*", obviously suggesting, like the preceding statements, the existence of an older building; a terrace was leveled — this is the first unclear statement — and the church was built. Its apse was decorated with a mosaic and the galleries were "*mirifica*", but whether rebuilt or newly added remains open. Against such specific statements, the expression "*a fundamentis erigens*" in Leo's inscription below his mosaic appears but a pale formula of curial courtesy. Thus the documentary tradition does not necessarily contradict the archeological evidence, and a new interpretation of the documents becomes possible in conformity with the latter, roughly along the following lines. An older building occupied the site prior to the time of Leo III, and this older building was a basilica with aisles and galleries, albeit that these latter were narrower than those of Leo III. This first basilica had apparently fallen into disrepair ("*marcuerat*"; "*tetro existens loco*") and appeared narrow ("*breviter constructus*"; "*coangusto loco*"), either because aisles and galleries were narrow to start with or because they had collapsed and, as a result, the nave arcades had been blocked. Hence, the older basilica was repaired and in part rebuilt by Leo III; the façade was refounded; the galleries were reconstructed; and the entire church received a splendid new decoration.

The archeological evidence confirms the hypothesis of a mere rebuilding under Leo III. While the north wall of the nave in its entirety (figs. 212, *a*, *b*; 218), the apse (fig. 224) and the entire south wall of the nave are built in fourth century technique, the foundation walls beneath the façade, the adjoining short stretch of the left nave wall and the entire foundation wall of the north aisle show the technique customary in Roman building from the late eighth through the middle of the ninth century: blocks looted from the Servian wall with brick patches filling the interstices (figs. 216 *a*, *b*). These parts of the foundation walls, then, were apparently either rebuilt or reinforced under Leo III. Where they were built or rebuilt entirely, the walls carried by these foundations were presumably also built *ex novo*, and we assume this was the case of the wall of the north aisle and of the façade. In other places, however, the original foundations were apparently simply reinforced by the builders of Leo III, and in this case the original upper walls could be preserved. This, we believe, happened at the east end of the south nave wall near the façade, where the original clerestorey wall survives above a stretch of seemingly Leonine foundation wall; the latter being presumably an original foundation wall strengthened under Leo III by a lining of Servian blocks. However, none of the rising walls of Leo III's building campaign survive; his façade has disappeared, and the wall of the north aisle was apparently replaced in a thorough rebuilding of the church during the high Middle Ages.

b) THE SECOND REBUILDING

Evidence of this medieval rebuilding was supplied by the wall of the north aisle, which could be studied for a short time in 1938 (fig. 215). This wall, indeed, did not show the marks of Carolingian building technique. The coursing is regular, the mortar beds quite even; at first glance

[1] See above, dig. 795-814.
[2] See above, p. 256, n. 3.

it seems to resemble the north flank of the fourth century nave. Closer study corrects this first impression. The bricks were not new, but obviously all in second use, many being broken. Moreover, the wall was not built of concrete faced with brick; it was, as could be seen in 1938, of solid brickwork — a characteristic neither of fourth, nor of eighth or ninth century construction, but typical for high medieval building in Rome. Hence, the wall was apparently rebuilt in the eleventh or twelfth centuries on the Carolingian foundation after the aisle wall rebuilt by Leo III had collapsed. The small remnant of an arcade in the outer wall of the south aisle which survives in the wall of the present sacristy (fig. 224) likewise appears to date from this period, and we suggest the same date for some other elements recorded by Ugonio and Panvinio: the narthex across the façade; an *opus vermiculatum* floor in the nave; and finally, a chancel screen which traversed nave and aisles.

c) THE THIRD AND FOURTH REBUILDINGS

The third rebuilding of the church, which left only the nave, with two transeptal chapels and a vault over the sanctuary added, is firmly dated. Inscriptions on the main portal and on the chancel arch, recorded in the sixteenth century, gave the years 1475 and 1477, respectively, as the time of construction. The sixteenth century antiquarians from Fra Mariano to Ugonio confirm the remodeling of the church under Sixtus IV[1]. Finally the characteristics of this remodeling find their counterpart in other structures erected by Sixtus IV: the limitation of the building to the nave only, as in S. Pancrazio and S. Sisto Vecchio[2]; and the trefoil plan of the chancel, as suggested by the apsed transeptal chapels in S. Agostino and S. Maria del Popolo[3]. Similarly the last remodeling and redecoration, financed by Cardinal Rusticucci and extending from 1593 to 1603, is firmly dated by contemporary reports and by the inscription on Maderno's façade[4].

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

An evaluation of the place of S. Susanna in the framework of Early Christian and early medieval architecture in Rome depends to a large degree on the date assigned to the surviving core of the present structure. If this core, composed of a nave flanked by aisles and galleries and terminated by a semicircular apse, was as we think erected in the fourth century as a huge private basilica, it throws new light on the character and range of secular building at the end of the classical period. Basilicas with aisles and galleries, both communicating with the nave through arched rather than trabeated colonnades, are so far unknown to us in Roman architecture; indeed, even trabeated basilicas with galleries become rare after the early third century. On the other hand, the technical features of the nucleus of the structure incorporated into the church seem to us to point to a fourth century date and to no other. Hence we see ourselves compelled to view the original building as a *hapax legomenon*, so far unparalleled but not impossible in fourth century architecture.

The reappearance of the same building type in the remodeling of the church under Leo III is far less exceptional. A counterpart is found in the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the baths of Caracalla, a basilica with aisles and galleries, built *ex novo* by Leo III, presumably some years

[1] See above, dig. 1475-1477.
[2] See above, Vol. III, p. 173; Vol. IV, p. 175 f.: and, in general, URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", *passim* and particularly p. 273.
[3] IDEM, pp. 163 ff., 274 ff.
[4] See above, dig. 1593-1603.

after the rebuilding of S. Susanna [1]. One or two decades before this remodeling, in the pontificate of Hadrian I, the upper chambers or galleries of a sixth century hall were retained in the western hall of S. Maria in Cosmedin [2]. Basilicas with galleries, then, were apparently an accepted feature in Roman church building of the last quarter of the eighth century.

To the extent that it has been discussed, this feature has thus far been explained as the transfer to city churches of a building type of Constantinopolitan origin which had penetrated Rome in the sixth century, primarily in catacomb basilicas (S. Agnese f. l. m., S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and presumably SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in the Domitilla catacomb) [3] and only occasionally inside the city, for instance in the diaconia hall of S. Maria in Cosmedin. The present interpretation of the original galleried basilica at S. Susanna as a fourth century structure of secular character adds a Roman root to the Byzantine one without invalidating the latter.

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[1] See above, Vol. III, p. 250.

[2] See above, Vol. II, p. 300.

[3] See above, Vol. I, p. 22; Vol. II, p. 52 f.; Vol. III, p. 132 f. Regarding the provenance of the type from Constantinople (St. John of the Studios, Chalkopratiae church) and its transfer to the West, see also KRAUTHEIMER, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture", *Art Bulletin* 20 (1942), p. 1 ff. and particularly p. 30.

S. TEODORO [1]

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)

S. Teodoro, at the foot of the Palatine Hill, below its western cliff, is not documented prior to the end of the eighth century. At that time it is referred to twice as being roughly in its present location, between SS. Cosma e Damiano, S. Maria Antiqua and the Palatine, under the listing "*ad scm theodorum*" [2]. Under Leo III, presumably in 802 or 803, the "*diaconia sancti Theodori*" receives a textile and in 806 a silver crown, small, though not among the smallest given to *diaconiae* [3]. An equally small donation, a textile, is made by Gregory IV (827-844) [4]. Later, the *diaconia* is mentioned time and again as the title of cardinals "*diaconiae sancti Theodori*" from the tenth century on: Benedict (later pope Benedict VI, 972-974); Henricus, mentioned 1118-1119; Albertus, between 1130 and 1143; Ardicione, referred to in 1161, 1163, 1170; finally, in 1316, Johannes Caetani [5]. No source after the *Einsidlense* specifically names a church; but, like other *diaconiae*, that of S. Teodoro must have included an oratory or a church from the outset [6]. Indeed, from the style and the iconography of the mosaic in the apse of the present church [7], it is obvious that a church existed at the time of the first reference to S. Teodoro and to the *diaconia sancti Theodori* at the end of the eighth and at the beginning of the ninth century, and that this church considerably antedated the first documentary references. However, this old church, to which the apse belonged and which had survived either in its original state or in a partial medieval rebuilding, must have been in bad shape by the middle of the fifteenth century. Pope Nicholas V attempted to restore it, but it collapsed and he rebuilt it, somewhat further back and slightly smaller [8]. A

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[1] Selected bibliography: FAUNO, *Delle antichità della città di Roma*, Venice, 1548, c. 45v; FULVIO, *L'antichità di Roma*, ed. G. Ferrucci, Venice, 1588, cc. 99, 256v; FRANZINI, *Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna*..., Rome, 1643, p. 308 f.; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 311 f.; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, X, 1877, p. 218 ff.; XIII, 1879, p. 504 ff.; PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, 1703, p. 733 ff.; LANCIANI, "Di un frammento della pianta marmorea severiana rappresentante il Clivo della Vittoria ed il Vico Tusco", *Bull. Com.* 13 (1885), p. 157 ff.; DUCHESNE, "Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 7 (1887), p. 238; MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes* I, (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 4, 1898), pp. 71, 139, 145 ff.; DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, 1899, fasc. 17, "S. Teodoro", p. 1 ff.; SCHNEIDER GRAZIOSI, "La identificazione topografica delle 'Horrea Germaniciana et Agrippiana' dell'ottava regione augustea", *Bull. Com.* 39 (1911), p. 158 ff.; SCHNEIDER GRAZIOSI, "Genius horreorum agrippianorum", *Bull. Com.* 42 (1914), p. 25 ff.; WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, 1917, p. 1074; BARTOLI, "Gli Horrea Agrippiana e la diaconia di San Teodoro", *Mon. Accad. Lincei* 27 (1922), p. 373 ff.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 489; LESTOCQUOY, "Administration de Rome et diaconies du VII[e] au IX[e] siècle", *R.A.C.* 7 (1930), p. 261 ff. (hereafter cited as LESTOCQUOY, "Diaconies"); LESTOCQUOY, (Summary of lecture), *R.A.C.* 7 (1930), p. 316 (hereafter cited as LESTOCQUOY, 1930); F. FASOLO and O. FASOLO, "San Teodoro al Palatino", *Palladio* 5, 3 (1941), p. 112 ff.; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, pp. 649 ff., 1460 ff.; LUGLI, *Roma antica, il centro monumentale*, Rome, 1946, p. 195 ff.; MATTHIAE, *SS. Cosma e Damiano e S. Teodoro*, Rome, 1848; NIEDERER, *The Roman Diaconiae*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1950 (with a complete bibliography until 1950, p. 457 ff.); URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", 1961/62, p. 205 ff.; WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, 1964, p. 77.

[2] LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, cols. 442, 444.

[3] *L. P.*, II, pp. 12, 21; for the dating, see HÜLSEN, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922), p. 107 ff., esp. 110 f.

[4] *L. P.*, II, p. 76.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. XV, 313, 380, 403, 406, 423, 480.

[6] LESTOCQUOY, "Diaconies", p. 261 ff.; NIEDERER, *op. cit.*, p. 179 ff. and, with specific reference to S. Teodoro, p. 129 ff.

[7] See below, p. 286; also MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, *passim* and WAETZOLD, *Kopien*, p. 77.

[8] STEFANO DELL' INFESSURA, *Diario della Città di Roma*, ed. Tommasini (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*), Rome, 1890, p. 50: "... *fece di nuovo la chiesa di Santo Theodoro doi volte; la prima acconciò la vecchia, la quale accoscia che fu cascò dalli fondamenti et lui la rifece un poco più là, et poco meniore che non era*"; also *Vat. lat.* 3619, f. 7, as quoted by LANCIANI, *Storia scavi*, I, p. 57: "*ecclesiam sancti Theodori super fundamentis antiquis* [*antiquis* of course means here old, original, not ancient, Roman, as SCHNEIDER GRAZIOSI, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 160] *primo de mandato suae Sanctitatis constructam, deinde suo impetu defecta fundamentorum penitus dirutam statim a fundamentis novis reaedificari* [*fecit*]".



(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 226. S. Teodoro. Exterior



(Louvre, Cab. des dessins)

Fig. 227. S. Teodoro. Breenbergh, view of S. Teodoro, 1620-1632

few payments for this rebuilding, apparently the second campaign, dated from 1453 and 1454 and concerning masons' work and glass windows, have survived: "*Mo. Pietro di Giovanni da Varese maestro di muro de dare ... per parte del lavoro di santo Theodaro*;" "*... per lo lavoro di santo Todaro* [sic] *rifatto di nuovo...*"; "*Giovanni di Andrea da Firenze che fa le finestre del vetro... per tre finestre e uno occhio a fato nela ciesa di santo Teodaro...*"; "*Bernardino da Spoleto per ... la porta disanto Todero* [sic]" [1]. This second building was apparently the round structure which stands to this day (figs. 226, 227) and, indeed, the arms of Nicholas V and his initials are set into the two piers of the porch which shelters the portal of the rotunda; in the seventeenth century, his arms were also seen in the gable of the porch and in the interior on the keystone of the ribbed dome [2]. This latter coat of arms was again discovered thirty years ago on the keystone of the nave vault [3]. Under Gregory XIII, a major rebuilding seems to have been begun [4], but no trace of it remains, and no source other than Ugonio sustains this contention. On the other hand, a campaign of restoration undertaken in 1642 to 1643 and financed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini is richly documented by a monograph of Torrigio and by a lengthy poem by one Sebastiano Vannini [5]. The repairs on the structure concerned primarily the clean-

[1] MUNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 145 f.

[2] See GIOVANNOLI, *Roma antica*, I, Rome, 1618, p. 5; TORRIGIO, *Historia del Martirio di S. Teodoro* ..., Rome, 1643, p. 270, mentions three coats of arms of Nicholas V on the façade, presumably the two extant on either pier of the porch and perhaps a third one on the arch. He also saw the arms of Sixtus IV painted inside the porch on either side of the portal.

[3] FASOLO, *op. cit.*, p. 114 f. and fig. on p. 119.

[4] UGONIO, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 1993, f. 97 (94): "*Hoggidi vi si edifica chiesa nuova maggiore et con più bel disegno della prima quale e a bona termine per il sussidio che vi ha dato papa Gregorio XIII et per l'elemosine di molte persone di bene ...*".

[5] TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*; VANNINI, *Chiliasticon Theodoro-Marianum Urbanum ... MDCXLIII ... conditum Francisco Barberini*, Rome, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 3221, f. 441 ff.; BRUZIO, *Theatrum Romanae Urbis* ..., Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11885, f. 64v f. presents but an excerpt from Torrigio's monograph, and the guidebooks of the mid-century are strangely silent.

Fig. 228. S. Teodoro. Carlo Fontana, façade



(Windsor, Royal Library, vol. 188, no. 10604). By gracious permission of H. M. the Queen



(Windsor, Royal Library, vol. 188, no. 10602). By gracious permission of H. M. the Queen

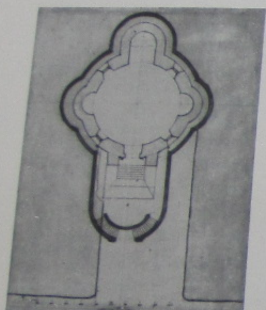
Fig. 229. S. Teodoro. Carlo Fontana, section

ing of the interior and the rebuilding of the roof. In effecting the latter, the tiled extrados of the fifteenth century dome (fig. 227) was protected by a two-step roof which left an air space above the center of the dome and below the raised part of the new roof; the octagonal wall carrying this raised part opened in eight oval oculi [1] (fig. 228). Inside the apse, the mosaic was thoroughly repaired by G. B. Calandra [2]. A further major remodeling of the church was undertaken in 1705

[1] URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 207, assigns the construction of the eight-sided stepped roof to the eighteenth century reconstruction; but this is erroneous, since it already appears on Fontana's survey drawings, which represent the building as remodeled in 1643 to 1644.

[2] TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 195: "*... Card. Francesco Barberini ... 1642 ... vi pose le mani adiutrici ... facendovi [comincianda nella volta esteriore] ... che ... ria difeso dell'acqua ...*"; VANNINI, *ms. cit.*, f. 442r, lines 19 ff.: "*Hanc Francisce Nepos Urbani sancta fendi/Templa vetustatis cui pia cura fuit/Anxius annosam reparandam suscipis atque/Ruderibus purgas imbricibusque tegis/Instaurare studens Musivum pene caducum ...*" Calandra's name is given by TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

by Clement XI under the direction of Carlo Fontana, who had planned it since 1703. It is recorded in a set of drawings by him and his workshop, in a dedicatory inscription of the pope and in contemporary guidebooks[1]. The earth which touched the building in the rear, on the slope of the Palatine, and which had accumulated on the sides and in front, toward Via S. Teodoro, to as much as 2.90 m. above the fifteenth century level (figs. 227, 228, 229) was dug away; a ditch was opened



(Windsor, Royal Library, vol. 188, no. 10603). By gracious permission of H. M. the Queen

Fig. 230. S. Teodoro. Carlo Fontana, plan



(Windsor, Royal Library, vol. 188, no. 9756). By gracious permission of H. M. the Queen

Fig. 231. S. Teodoro. Carlo Fontana, interior section as remodeled

in the rear and on the sides, secured by a brick wall to protect the church from humidity (fig. 230); in front, a semicircular forecourt was laid out on the fifteenth century level and thus 2.90 m. below street level; framed by a pair of two-storied curved houses, it was accessible by two curved flights of steps. At the rear, in the right hand corner between the chancel and rotunda, a sacristy was inserted. Finally, the church interior was modernized (fig. 231): the walls were articulated by pilaster strips, terminating in brackets; the windows and doors were framed with elegant profiles; a cornice was placed on the new pilaster order at the springing of the dome; the ribs of the dome of Nicholas V were covered with broad volute bands; and all this was done in stucco. Moreover, an organ loft was inserted above the entrance, accessible from the second floor of the house to the right of the courtyard; new altars were installed in the chancel and on the transverse axis of the rotunda; and the *monti* of Clement XI were scattered all over the interior. Later restoration cam-

[1] The drawings, all in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (nos. 9510-13; 9756-61; 10601-06), comprise both surveys of the structure then extant (nos. 9510, 9759, 9761, 10602, 10604) and projects for the remodeling (nos. 9512, 9513, 9756, 9757, 9758, 9760, 10600, 10601, 10603, 10605, 10606); no. 9760 is dated 1703. The dedicatory inscription (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, X, p. 286, no. 451) refers to the restoration of the church by Clement XI. Among the guidebooks the most specific description of the remodeling is given by PANCIROLI-POSTERLA-CECCONI, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 476 f.

paigns, one in 1852, another in the fifties of this century, were apparently limited in scope, although in this last campaign the eighteenth century sacristy was removed[1]. Thus the building has come down to us more or less as remodeled by Carlo Fontana.

The history of the church, and in particular its rebuilding under Nicholas V, were well known to the antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century, the opinion took root among antiquarians and the general public that the rotunda was an antique temple, either of Faunus Quirinus, Vulcanus or Romulus[2], and only consecrated as a church either by Pope Felix III (526-530) or by Theodore I (640-649)[3]. This misconception, obviously influenced by Leone Battista Alberti's thesis regarding the generally round shape of temples[4], stemmed from the belief attested to by early sixteenth century antiquarians that the church occupied the site of a Roman temple[5]. The interpretation of S. Teodoro as a temple reconsecrated as a church has occasionally survived to our own day. Moreover, the situation has not been helped by the thesis, proffered more recently, to the effect that S. Teodoro was built as a round church in Early Christian times, possibly in the seventh century[6]. None of these hypotheses is tenable.



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 232. S. Teodoro. View of *horrea*, seen from Palatine, toward west

Certainly the rotunda proper dates in its entirety from the time of Nicholas V; only the apse with its mosaic and perhaps part of the chancel bay are of Early Christian date. But nowhere in the building is there the trace of a classical or late classical structure.

Indeed, excavations on the slope of the Palatine Hill, just north of and behind S. Teodoro, have brought to light the remains of a classical building. The north end of a rectangular porticoed courtyard has been found, adjoining to the north the rear walls of the "Templum Divi Augusti" and of S. Maria Antiqua (figs. 232, 233). Rows of *tabernae* run along the north and east sides of the courtyard; but its extension, or indeed, that of the complex to which it belonged, southward below and possibly beyond S. Teodoro remains thus far unknown[7]. However, from inscriptions, the

[1] The campaign of 1852, described in a manuscript in the archive of the Confraternita di S. Teodoro, is known to me only through FASOLO, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[2] UGONIO, *ms. cit.*, Barb. lat. 1993, f. 96ᵛ (93ᵛ); TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 141 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 150 ff., 269; BRUZIO, *ms. cit.*, f. 68.

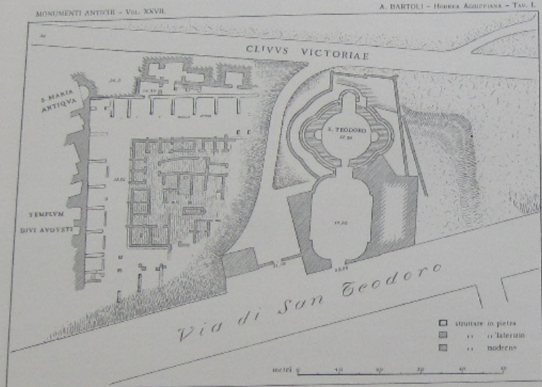
[4] ALBERTI, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, 4 (Paris, 1512, c. n. iii f.).

[5] FAUNO, *op. cit.*, c. 45ᵛ; MAURO, *Le antichità della città di Roma*, Venice, 1558, p. 39; FULVIO, *loc. cit.*

[6] LUGLI, *Monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio*, I, Rome, 1931, p. 146; IDEM, *op. cit.*, 1946, p. 196; FASOLO, *op. cit.*, *passim*; URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", p. 205 f.

[7] Ever since the courtyard was first located and excavated, it has been identified with the northernmost of three trapezoidal courtyards within a *tabernae* complex which appears on two fragments of the marble *Forma Urbis* in an area between the Clivus Victoriae and the Vicus Tuscus and opposite a similar complex linked to the names of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla (SCHNEIDER GRAZIOSI, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 158 ff.; IDEM, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 25 ff.; BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 373 ff.; LUGLI, *op. cit.*, 1931, I, p. 144 ff.; IDEM, *op. cit.*, 1946, p. 195 f.). However, recently it has been convincingly suggested (CARETTONI, COLINI, COZZI and GATTI, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, Rome, 1960; text, p. 109 ff.; pl. 33) that the fragments do not represent the building near S. Teodoro, but an unidentified structure facing the east slope, not the west slope, of the Palatine, near the Clivus Scauri and below S. Gregorio. Hence, the ever-repeated contention that S. Teodoro occupies the central of the three courtyards is no longer tenable.

complex can be identified as the Horrea Agrippiana [1]. Moreover, its original parts, built of large tufa blocks, can be dated some time between the end of the Republic and the rule of the Flavians; thus, it was quite possibly founded by Agrippa. At a later point, presumably ca. 200 A.D., the courtyard was remodeled: an enclosure was erected inside, its exterior wall articulated by an order of small pilasters; in the center of the enclosure a small *sacellum* was placed, and it is here that the identi-



(Bartoli, *op. cit.*, pl. 1)

Fig. 233. S. Teodoro. Plan of church, *horrea* and later remodeling

fying inscription was found, dedicating the sanctuary to the "GENIUS HORREOR(um a)GRIPPIANORUM;" and, east of the eastern row of cellae, on a higher level up the slope of the hill, other structures were added. All these structures are built in a brick technique roughly of the time of the Severan emperors [2]. Finally, at a much later date, the entire enclosure was filled with small constructions, some *tabernae*, others living quarters, one a fountain [3]. All are poorly built, of *opus listatum*, of brick or of *tufelli* only, with their walls placed directly on the original pavement of the courtyard (fig. 234). They have been dated in the Middle Ages [4], but also in the fourth and in the fifth [5] centuries. Since an inscription from a sanctuary of the Magna Mater was used as build-

[1] Schneider Graziosi, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 25 ff.; Bartoli, *op. cit.*, p. 373 ff.; and recently, Berucci, "L'architettura degli Horrea Agrippiana", *Palladio*, n. s. 4 (1954), pp. 145 ff.

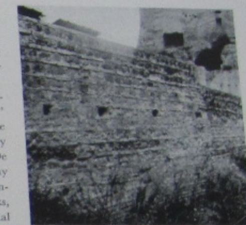
[2] Schneider Graziosi, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 26 n. 1; Bartoli, *op. cit.*, cols. 374 f., 385.

[3] Bartoli, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

[4] Lugli, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 144 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1946, p. 195 f.

[5] Berucci, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

ing material [1], they certainly cannot date prior to the late fourth century. But this kind of poor masonry is hard to locate in time, and the constructions, all or in part, may have been installed just as well in the sixth or seventh as in the fourth or fifth centuries.



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 234. S. Teodoro. *Opus listatum* wall of late *tabernae* or houses inserted in *horrea*

S. Teodoro occupies the south part of the courtyard, and it is possible that a "little barrel vault" supposedly found below the apse belonged to one of the *tabernae* in its east row [2]. However, contrary to the opinion maintained by the Fasolos and De Rossi [3], we cannot find in the rotunda itself any trace of Roman or Early Christian masonry [4]. Indeed, its walls are built with small, broken bricks, probably antique spoils, laid in even, horizontal courses with the occasional addition of a fragment of marble or tufa (figs. 235 a, b). Parts of the external wall face are revetted in thin plaster crudely incised in imitation of *falsa cortina*. The quality of the masonry together with the fact that many openings are crowned by pointed arches leaves no doubt that the rotunda is entirely of fifteenth century date. The vaulted porch, spanned by a single arch of radially set bipedal voussoirs, might seem to date from the Romanesque period but for its marble keystone, evidently *in situ*, on which the characteristic outline of Nicholas V's cartouche is recognizable although the sculpture has been defaced. Below, two intact shields of the same pontiff have been let into the brickwork, but as they are not *in situ* they have no value as evidence of date.

At the rear of the rotunda (fig. 236) the fifteenth century brickwork projects as a wing wall on either side of the apse; the brickwork of the wing wall bonds well with that of the rotunda, leaving little doubt that the two are contemporaneous. The brick wing wall projects about 1.5 m. from the rotunda wall, after which the brickwork ceases in a vertical line, and its place is taken for an additional 1.5 m. by a wall of tufa rubble (*muro a sacco*) which appears to have been built by Fontana in the construction of his sacristy.

However, two elements in the chancel of the church antedate the fifteenth century. The first is a brick arch, partly masked by Fontana's rubble wall, standing south of the apse and close to its curved wall (fig. 236). The arch springs from an unknown point which, however, coincides roughly with the southeast corner of the chancel bay. From there it springs east toward the slope of the hill, with a diameter of approximately 3 m.; it runs parallel with, but about 2 m. south of the axis of the church. The arch is built of fairly radially-set bipedals, and it seems to be a fragment of some antecedent structure. It may date perhaps from the fifth century, since its brickwork recalls that found in the clerestorey walls of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sabina or S. Lorenzo in Lucina [5]. The arch, then, appears to belong to some structure, possibly linked to a remodeling

[1] Bartoli, *op. cit.*, col. 394 f.

[2] Lestocquoy, 1930, p. 316; Fasolo, *op. cit.*, p. 116 ff. We have been unable to check on the existence or the building technique of this vault.

[3] Fasolo, *op. cit.*, *passim*; De Rossi, *Musaici*, *loc. cit.*

[4] See also Niederer, *op. cit.*, p. 131 f.; Lestocquoy, 1930, p. 316.

[5] See above, Vol. II, p. 173 f.; Vol. III, p. 42.

of the *horrea*, since it corresponds with the axial system of the latter; and it is decidedly earlier than the apse of the church.

The apse is the second early element. It stands immediately behind this arch and seems to be anchored in the support from which springs the west foot of the arch. Its wall is built in a masonry very different from that of the arch: very small broken bricks intermingled with occasional *tufelli*. The face is badly decayed and difficult to date by the technique of construction; the nearest analogy known to us seems to be the clerestorey walls of S. Maria in Cosmedin (772-795)[1], but this sort



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 235*a*. S. Teodoro. Northeast window and north apse



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 235*b*. S. Teodoro. Northwest window

of masonry might be expected to occur in Roman buildings of any date from the sixth to the eighth century. It is possible that two doors opened in the wall of the apse[2]; but at present they cannot be identified. The mosaic in the apse vault, while repaired in large part in 1643 to 1644, still largely retains its original Early Christian character in both iconography and style. An enthroned Christ is flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, who introduce, respectively, a bearded saint clad in a *chlamys* and a youthful saint wearing a short tunic and offering a crown. The youthful saint's head was entirely, his figure almost completely, restored in the seventeenth century[3]. Of the two saints, the one with Saint Peter may be Saint Theodore of Amasaea; the other one could be either Saint Theodore *tiro* or Saint George[4]. The figures are stiff and only slightly modeled; the heads are narrow and stylized; and the eyes are extraordinarily large. But the ornament at the bottom of the vault shows a fine, if stylized, tendril design. They have been compared with the figures in the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano, which dates from 526 to 530; hence a date near the middle of the sixth century has been proposed[5]. We incline toward a later date, either the latter part of the sixth century[6] or, preferably, the years around 600. This is also the date which we would like to assign to the building of the church of which the apse is the last surviving remnant.

[1] See above, Vol. II, p. 293 f.

[2] The observation was made by Lestocquoy, 1930, p. 316; we have been unable to verify it.

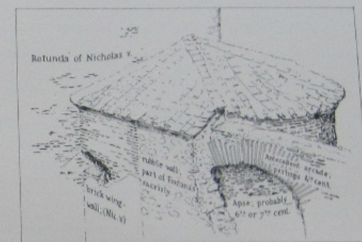
[3] The extent of the seventeenth century restorations is discussed at length by Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 73 ff. and illustrated on pl. 30.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[6] Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I, *Il Medioevo*, Turin, 1927, p. 220.

Regarding the plan of this, the original church, next to nothing is known. Stefano dell'Infessura, one recalls, noted that the present church was built by Nicholas V somewhat beyond, *un poco più là*, the first he had begun, and that this first church of Nicholas used the old foundations, presumably those of the original church[1]. Hence one would assume this original church extended into the area of the present forecourt. Another clue may be given by the arch south of the apse. The unusual conjunction of the two elements could be explained if we were to suppose that the arch



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 236. S. Teodoro. Wing wall, arch and apse, seen from south

was a member of an arcade which formerly continued west, crossing the area of the present rotunda. If so, the pre-existing arches might have been adopted by the builders of the church as the right hand arcade of a small basilica (S.C.). But it is equally possible that these arches were walled up and that the church was therefore without aisles, or for that matter that the arcade never continued west of the one surviving arch. In short, the elements known are insufficient for any definite suggestion.

A date about 600 for the building of the church would also coincide with what is known about the establishment of *diaconiae* in Rome. While such welfare centers are mentioned in documentary sources outside Rome in the sixth century — in the Near East since the first half of the century; in Naples, Pesaro, and Ravenna under Gregory the Great (590-604) — in Rome, *diaconiae* are referred to by name for the first time in the late seventh century and ever thereafter[2]. However, both documentary and archeological evidence attest to their existence in Rome also as early as the sixth and the early seventh centuries though that name is not yet used: in 590 Gregory of Tours refers to *horrea ecclesiae* established in the city[3], and these are mentioned again specifically under Pope Sabinianus (604-606)[4]; the "Diaconia Hall" at S. Maria in Cosmedin, the core of that

[1] See above, p. 279 note 6.

[2] Lestocquoy, "Diaconies", p. 262 f.; Niederer, *op. cit.*, p. 141 ff.; Marrou, "L'origine orientale des diaconies romaines", *Mél. Éc. Franç.* 57 (1940), p. 95 ff.

[3] Sjöqvist, "Studi archeologici e topografici intorno alla Piazza del Collegio Romano", *Opuscula Archaeologica*, IV (Skrifter Svenska Institutet, 12) 1946, p. 47 ff., esp. 128 f., quoting Gregory's *Historia Francorum* X, 1 (see *Histoire des Francs*, [Coll. de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire], Omont and Collon, new ed. Poupardin, Paris, 1913, p. 409).

[4] *L. P.*, I, p. 315.

diaconia, was built not later than 550 [1]; and the fresco of the Seven Sleepers in one of the cellae that compose the *diaconia* of S. Maria in Via Lata dates from the early seventh century [2]. The *diaconia* of S. Teodoro, if established about 600 and thus contemporaneous with its church, would fit well into this early group of *diaconiae*. Like them it occupies a Roman *horrea* complex (in the case of S. Maria in Cosmedin, a *statio annonae*). Like them, the *diaconia* of S. Teodoro included a church building, apparently quite sizable. And as in most other *diaconiae*, the pre-existing *horrea* was in part simply revitalized as a storehouse, in part remodeled to that end. In fact, we venture to suggest that the structures which at an uncertain though late date were installed inside the second or third century enclosure in the *horrea* courtyard (figs. 232, 233, 234) belong to the remodeling of the *Roman horrea* as *horrea ecclesiae*.

[1] See above, Vol. II, p. 303 f.
[2] See above, Vol. III, p. 79.

S. VALENTINO

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B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS [2]

I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS.

BOSIO, *Roma Sotterranea*, 1632, pp. 576 ff.; 1650, p. 525 f.
ARINGHI, *Roma Subterranea*, II, p. 349 ff.
BOLDETTI, *Osservazioni sopra i Cemeterj de' SS. Martiri*, Rome, 1720, p. 576 f.
STEVENSON, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 10557, f. 188v ff. (includes bibliographical notes).

* Research assistant, RONALD MALMSTROM.
[1] Since Marucchi's publications are repetitious, we shall refer chiefly to the monograph of 1890 in citing his work.
[2] The ancient descriptions of Bosio, Aringhi and Boldetti deal primarily with the catacomb of S. Valentino and its murals, but all mention briefly some ruins of the church; presumably they refer to one of the chapels (originally mausolea [*cellae*]) terminating the aisles. Boldetti refers to the murals as well.

II. Ancient illustrations.

ca. 1580 Ciacconius, Copy of twelfth century (?) frescoes of the Crucifixion, the Virgin, Saint Salome and a martyr scene "*in sacello S. Julii papre prope pontem Milvium iuxta ecclesiam S. Valentini ... in sacello*", watercolor; Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 5409, f. 37.

1594 Bosio, Sections of *cubiculum* and wall paintings in entrance tract of catacomb, engravings; *Roma Sotterranea*, 1632, pp. 577, 579, 581 (see also Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, II, p. 353 f.).

C. DATES

318—523 An open air cemetery occupies the area which later becomes the nave and north aisle, extending north beyond the church; it was excavated in 1877-1878 and 1888, and Christian epitaphs and sarcophagi were found, the earliest dated 318, the last 523; the majority cluster between 359 and 453 (Marucchi, *op. cit.*, [Report on epitaphs] 1878, p. 59 ff.; Idem, 1890, p. 75 ff.; Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, pp. 448 ff., 503 ff., 635 f., 703 f.; 730 ff.; Idem, 1889, p. 107; Armellini, *op. cit.*, p. 160 ff.; and, *in extenso*, Marucchi, *Catacombe*, p. 609 ff.).

337—352 Pope Julius I installs three cemeteries outside the City, "*unum via Flamminea ...*", possibly the catacomb and cemetery of S. Valentino (*L.P.*, I, p. 205). The Liberian catalogue is more specific, assigning to Julius I "*basilicam in via Flaminia mil. II, quae appellatur Valentini ...*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 8).

366—384 Damasian inscriptions: fragments were found in and near the basilica, one reused in building the chancel walls (Marucchi, 1890, p. 120; Idem, *op. cit.*, "Di una iscrizione Damasiana", 1905, p. 103 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, "Di alcune recenti scoperte", 1905, p. 300 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1927, p. 261 ff.; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1928, p. 119 ff.; for a critique of Marucchi's proposed reconstruction of the epigram, see Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, p. 197 ff.).

406 Dated epitaph, found *in situ*, either in grave below nave or possibly in pavement (Marucchi-Gatti, *op. cit.*, 1888, p. 702; Marucchi, 1890, pp. 85, 119)[1].

625—638[2] The *Itinerarium Salisburgense* (*Notitia Ecclesiarum*) lists a large church of S. Valentino on the Via Flaminia and refers to repairs undertaken by Honorius I: "*... ubi scs valentinus martir quiescit via flaminea in basilica magna quam honorius reparavit...*" (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 138; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 73).

635—642 The *Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum* similarly mentions "*iuxta viam flamineam*" the "*ecclesia mirifice ornata sci valentini mr. ubi ipse corpore iacet ...*" (De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 142; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 118).

641 A coin of Heraclius II and his son Constantine (Constans II), minted in 641, was found inside the crypt corridor (Marucchi, 1890, p. 122).

642—649 Pope Theodore builds or rebuilds the church of the Blessed Valentine on Via Flaminia from its very foundations and endows it: "*Fecit et ecclesiam beato Valentino via Flamminea, iuxta pontem Molbium a solo, quam et ipse dedicavit et dona multa optulit*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 332 f.).

684—685 Pope Benedict II donates a precious altar cloth: "*in ecclesiam beati Valentini via Flamminea fecit coopertorium super altare cum clavos in fistellis et in circuitu palergium chrisoclavum pretiosissimum*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 363).

772—795 perhaps ca. 777[3] Pope Hadrian I donates a textile "*in basilica ... beati Valentini*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 500) followed later by two sets of 22 curtains each "*in basilica beati Valentini martyris quae sita est foris muros huius civitatis Romanae*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 504).

late VIII century The *Itinerarium Einsidlense* lists "*in via flaminea foris murum in dextera sci valentini*" (Lanciani, *Itin. Einsidlense*, col. 441).

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[1] Marucchi's statements are contradictory: in his monograph of 1890, p. 119, he specifically states that the epitaph was found "*uscoro al suo posto*" inside one of the tombs in the east part of the nave; on p. 85, under entry no. 24, the same epitaph is described as having been found in the pavement, "*nel pavimento della basilica*". If the latter statement is correct, the epitaph was possibly simply reused as a pavement slab. On the other hand, Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 710 f., state clearly that the epitaph was found "*in situ sotto il piano del presbiterio*", apparently referring to the chancel area west of the crypt corridor.

[2] Regarding the dates of the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*, and the *Epitome*, see above, Vol. II, p. 11 and note 2.

[3] A possible date, ca. 777, results from the preceding reference in Hadrian's biography to repairs on the *forma Iobia*, presumably in 776.

795—816 Pope Leo III, ca. 800 A.D., gives "*in ecclesia sancti Valentini*" two textiles (*L.P.*, II, p. 9); in 806, a small corona "*in ecclesia beati Valentini martyris quae ponitur foris murum, ubi eius sacratissimum corpus requiescit*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 20). In 809, he repairs the roofs of the church, which were collapsing from age: "*sarta tecta basilicae beati Valentinin martyris sita via Flamminea| quae iam prae nimia vetustate ruitura erant| prudentissimo studio mirifice a novo refecit* (*L.P.*, II, p. 28)[1].

827—844 Pope Gregory IV donates a textile "*in ecclesia sancti Valentini*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 78).

898—900 The master builder (? *opifex*) Theobaldus donates to the church of S. Valentino two nearby houses, other real estate, books and altar vessels; inscription at S. Maria in Cosmedin (Crescimbeni, *Istoria ... di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Rome, 1715, p. 81 ff.; Marucchi, 1890, p. 126 f.; Armellini, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Giovenale, *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Rome, 1926, p. 72; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 336).

955 A bull of Agapitus II confers to S. Silvestro in Capite the possession of the monastery of S. Valentino, "*foris porta item que dicitur S. Valentini ... cum omnibus suis edificiis et adiacentiis suis ...*" (Federici, "Regesto ... di S. Silvestro in Capite", *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 22 (1899), p. 213 ff., esp. 267 f.; Ferrari, *Monasteries*, p. 336).

1058—1060 An inscription of Nicholas II in S. Silvestro in Capite, no longer extant but read in the eighteenth century, refers to repairs made in the church of S. Valentino by Theobald, Abbot of S. Silvestro in Capite. These included replacing three roof beams ("*in tecto ... tres traves mutavit ...*"), repairing the aisles ("*porticus que circa st* [sunt]") and the bell tower ("*turrem quam campanile dicimus ...*") and regilding five paintings or reliefs ("*... yconas co* [tivas?] *qnq ...*; Settele, *op. cit.*, 1829, p. 229 ff., pl. 3; Marucchi, 1890, p. 129 f.).

1159—1181 "*Sci Valentini iuxta pontem*" and "*extra urbem in via Flamminea*" is listed as one of the twenty abbeys of Rome by both Petrus Mallius and Johannes Diaconus (Hülsen, *Chiese*, p. 129; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, III, pp. 362, 439).

1313—1339 The Turin catalogue lists S. Valentino as lying in ruins and no longer in use: "*Ecclesia Sancti Valentini extra portam sine muris non habet clerum*" (Hülsen, *Chiese*, p. 28; Valentini-Zucchetti, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 294).

1594 The catacomb is rediscovered, and ruins of the church are seen (Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 576; 1650, p. 525 f.).

1877—1878 The catacomb is explored again; the church and open air cemetery are rediscovered (Marucchi, *op. cit.*, "La cripta sepolcrale", 1878, *passim*; Idem, 1890, *passim*).

1888 Church and cemetery are systematically excavated (Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, *passim*; Idem, 1889, p. 106 ff.; Marucchi, 1890, *passim*).

1948 Remains of church are again excavated and photographed (Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 171 ff.)

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[1] For the dates of Leo's donations, see Hülsen, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922), pp. 107 ff., esp. p. 110 f.

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The catacomb of S. Valentino lies under the northwest precipice of Monte Parioli, about 1.5 km. outside Porta del Popolo, on the right side of the Via Flaminia and Viale Tiziano, as one travels north and turns into Viale Pilsudski. Rediscovered by Bosio in 1594, it was visited throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [1]. Its major point of interest was some wall paintings, presumably of seventh century date, in a vestibule-like chamber near the entrance to the lower floor of the catacomb. This lower floor has been convincingly assigned to the third century, perhaps to its first half. However, the entrance chamber certainly represents an enlargement of the original catacomb gallery and is of later, though possibly fourth century, date. Yet it remains in doubt whether or not the seventh century wall paintings replace an earlier decoration [2]. Bosio also saw near the catacomb entrance remains which he believed were the church of S. Valentino; and in 1720 Boldetti could still see the frescoed walls of the church or rather, of its side chapels [3]. These apparently disappeared, but in the 1870's and 1880's, the remains of several mausolea, 9.50 m. south of the entrance to the catacomb, were found, as well as the ruins of the walls and apse of the church, forty-odd meters from the catacomb. Remnants of an open air cemetery west of the mausolea and extending south below the area of the church were also discovered. Most of the mausolea are no longer visible, and only a small part of the remains of the church has been kept accessible, in a rectangular, sunken, open air enclosure at the foot of the cliff of Monte Parioli (pl. XVIII; figs. 233; 247 *a*, *b*). The apse, at the east end, was scooped out of the cliff. Its remains, first identified in 1877-1878, further explored in 1888 and finally uncovered again, surveyed and photographed by Apollonj Ghetti (fig. 239), are now buried under a landslide. A crypt in the form of a transverse corridor, parallel with the chord of the apse, was provided with a modern roof in 1888 and is fairly well preserved (figs. 244, 246); it is entered through doorways to the north and south which open into what were formerly the aisles of the basilica. West of the crypt, about ten meters of the length of the nave remain open to view in the excavated area. Not all of the few exposed column bases are *in situ*, but all are now collocated on the original stylobate (figs. 237, 243 *a*, *b*). To the north stand the remains of a rectangular chamber with a small eastern apse; presumably it was once the east end of the north aisle. The south aisle is entirely buried by accumulated debris, while the west part of the nave, outside the fenced enclosure, is buried at least one meter below the adjacent road, the Viale Pilsudski.

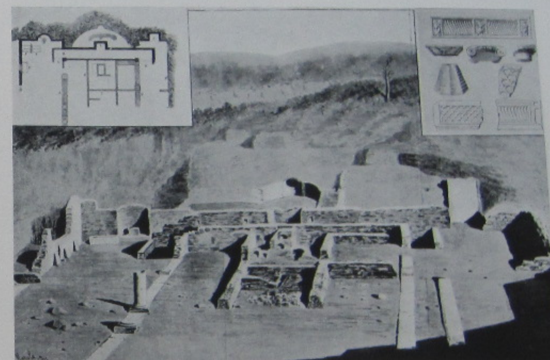
[1] BOSIO, *Roma Sotterranea*, 1632, p. 576; 1650, pp. 520, 525 f.; ARINGHI, *Roma Subterranea*, II, p. 349 ff.; BOLDETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 576 f.; LUBIN, *Abbatiarum Italiae brevis notitia*, Rome, 1693, p. 346. See also MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, "La cripta sepolcrale", 1878, *passim*; IDEM, 1890, p. 43 ff.; IDEM, *Catacombe*, p. 590 ff.; STYGER, *Katakomben*, p. 254 ff.; IDEM, *Märtyrergrüfte*, p. 251 ff.

[2] The wall paintings in their sixteenth century condition are known from Bosio's engravings, cited above, p. 290. Their state in the nineteenth century is known from MARUCCHI's illustrations (*op. cit.*, "La cripta sepolcrale...", 1878, pls. 1 and 2). In dating the catacomb and its entrance chamber, STYGER, *Katakomben*, 1933, p. 254 f., originally assigned to the former a date prior to the middle of the third century, to the latter "the early Times of Peace", presumably referring to the years shortly after 313. In his later work, *Märtyrergrüfte*, 1935, p. 251 f., he dated the catacomb "possibly prior to the Time of Peace", and thus apparently in the late third or the early fourth centuries; since the entrance chamber had *loculi* in its walls he assigned it somewhat vaguely to a "time when burial in catacombs was still customary", comparing it with the analogous enlargements of catacomb galleries into martyrs' crypts at S. Sebastiano, S. Felicita and S. Ippolito, all of late fourth and early fifth century date. He also suggested that the relics of S. Valentino were placed at this time in an altar in the middle of the chamber, whereas in his earlier work, *Katakomben*, p. 255 f., he assumed they were transferred to the church as early as 337 to 352.

[3] BOSIO, *Roma Sotterranea*, 1650, p. 525: "*... trovammo in essa (sc. vigna) alcune reliquie della Chiesa di S. Valentino; cioè alcune parietine; le quali poi sono state quasi finite di distruggere*"; BOLDETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 576: "*E poi S. Giulio Papa vi fabbricò vicino una Chiesa ..., che ancor oggi si vede ornata di alcune sagre pitture, benchè ridotta ad altro uso ...*".

E. ANALYSIS

The ancient church and adjacent buildings were excavated by O. Marucchi in 1877 and 1878 and systematically explored in 1888 [1]. About fifteen meters north of the area which is now visible, Marucchi discovered a row of pagan mausolea at the foot of the Parioli precipice (pl. XVII; figs. 237, 249). In the same area, extending below the mausolea and below the north aisle and nave of the church, an open air cemetery was uncovered. It was not preserved in the course of the explora-



(MARUCCHI, 1890, pl. II)

Fig. 237. S. Valentino. Remains of church during excavations of Marucchi

tion, but the reports published at the time give a reasonably clear picture [2]. Of the several layers of graves, the lower one, apparently pagan, has been assigned to the second or third century; the upper one is Christian and its epitaphs range in date from 318 to 523 [3]. The mausolea and the pagan layers of the cemetery antedate the Christian constructions, but the Christian graves were obviously associated with both the catacomb and the church which later rose on the site. Like the cemetery, the mausolea are known only from the reports of the excavators [4]; apparently they were partly hewn from the rock, rectangular in plan and contiguous to one another. The building material is described as tufa and brick; presumably it was *opus listatum*. The northernmost mausoleum measured about 4 m. by 2.5 m. internally, the next one was 2.5 m. square and the

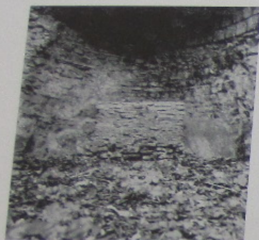
[1] MARUCCHI-GATTI, 1888 and 1889, *passim*; MARUCCHI, 1890, *passim*.

[2] MARUCCHI-GATTI, 1888 and 1889, *passim*; MARUCCHI, 1890, p. 17 ff.

[3] For bibliography, see above, dig. 318-523, and especially MARUCCHI, 1890, p. 75 ff.

[4] MARUCCHI-GATTI, 1888, pp. 440 f., 500, 630 f.; MARUCCHI, 1890, p. 106 f. and pls. 1, 2, and 4.

third was 2.5 m. by 2.25 m. (pl. XVII; fig. 249). Each of the three had its entrance in the west wall and had a small apsidal recess in the center of the east wall; they all were apparently furnished with sarcophagi arranged in niches. South of the third of these mausolea, Marucchi found a rectangular compartment measuring 3 m. from north to south and 6 m. from east to west; no niche was found, nor is the position of its entrance known. To the south of this chamber was an area 4 m. wide; it may have been a mausoleum that is now lost. It was bounded to the south by a



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 238. S. Valentino. Left mausoleum, apse and altar block



Fig. 239. S. Valentino. Small apse (foreground) and larger apse with niche (top), during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti

(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

wall, parallel with the wall of the chamber and, like it, 0.60 m. in thickness. This appeared to Marucchi to be the north side wall of the church. The east and west boundaries of the four-meter space are not known.

The 0.60 m. wall which Marucchi accepted as the wall of the north aisle of the basilica is still visible; it is built of an *opus listatum* in which single courses of brick alternate with two and occasionally three courses of tufelli. It may have been built originally as the south wall of the postulated lost mausoleum; but it was used as the north wall of yet another mausoleum, apparently rectangular in plan, which we shall call the north mausoleum, in reference to its relation to the church. The north mausoleum measures 7.40 m. from north to south; it is bounded on the east by a wall parallel to the common rear wall of the three niched mausolea described above, but about 5.50 m. east of it. The entire east wall and part of the north and south walls of the cella survive (fig. 237); all three are of the same *opus listatum*. They are bonded together at the southeast corner, but at the northeast corner it seems that the east wall was built against the north wall, that is, against the former south wall of the postulated lost mausoleum. In 1962 the south wall of the north mausoleum was visible east of the crypt corridor. This area is now buried under fallen earth, but the wall reappears inside the east wall of the crypt corridor, where both the core of the *opus listatum* and its foundation are visible in section (fig. 240 *a*). This foundation is as high as 1 m. and is

composed of rough stone blocks. It appears again in the west wall of the crypt corridor. A semicircular niche, 2.25 m. wide, opens near the middle of the east wall of the north mausoleum. (fig. 238). When uncovered, the niche showed traces of floral designs and the remains of an inscription, " *sci ... et beat ... ro mar ... tion ... pie ... o* ", presumably of medieval date [1]. Today only the bare plaster surface survives, starting at the original floor level of the niche and chamber. Inside the niche, there is a rectangular masonry block, apparently an altar, built of small bricks of all sizes, with mortar beds about 0.025 m. thick (figs. 237, 238). It measures 0.95 by 0.64 m. [2] and its rear wall stands but 0.50 m. west of the apex of the niche. It was built at a time when the level of the niche was 0.20 m. above the original floor, since up to that level its footing was apparently built against earth fill. Indeed, it was set up after the walls of the niche had received their plaster coat, and clearly mass could be celebrated only with the priest facing *versus orientem*.

The opus listatum of the north mausoleum is unlike any of the masonry found elsewhere in the church; also its walls rest on footings which rise 0.73 m. above the floor level of the basilica [3], the latter being indicated by the first column base of the north nave colonnade. Differing with Marucchi [4], we deduce that the niched chamber was originally built as an independent mausoleum. Only later was it incorporated in the basilica, thus forming a chapel at the east end of the north aisle.

Marucchi also discovered a structure in a corresponding position at the east end of the south aisle (figs. 237, 249). It too has a niche in its east wall, but this niche is rectilinear rather than semicircular. The structure is now reburied, and we have no knowledge of it except what Marucchi reports, which is that its walls were built of a masonry resembling that of the north mausoleum, and that they were placed against the live rock of the cliff [5]. When seen by Marucchi, the niche still carried two layers of paintings; in the upper, more recent layer, he distinguished a female bust, turned to the left " in the byzantine style of the seventh century ". Marucchi also saw traces of an inscription with letters arranged vertically; he assigned it tentatively to the seventh century. This date need not be accepted, but clearly the upper layer of frescoes was medieval; presumably it was not executed before the seventh nor after the twelfth century. By analogy with the location and shape of the north mausoleum, we are led to deduce that this structure too was a mausoleum antedating the basilica and was later incorporated in it as a side chapel at the end of the south aisle.

The apse of the basilica lies between the two mausolea [6]. It is hidden at present by a landslide, and an excavation would be both costly and dangerous. Hence it is known to us only from the reports of Marucchi, who saw it in 1887-1888, and of Apollonj Ghetti, who re-excavated it thirty years ago and had photographs taken (figs. 237, 239, 249) [7]. Indeed, while Marucchi had interpreted his findings as a single apse enclosing an altar structure, Apollonj Ghetti found two distinct, concentric apses.

The small apse is the earlier of the two and was preserved beneath the floor of the later large apse. Judging by photographs taken during excavation, it was cut down to about 50 cm. of its

1 Marucchi, 1890, p. 123; Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 632.

2 Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Marucchi, 1890, p. 122 ff.

5 Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 730; Marucchi, 1890, p. 125 f.; pls. 1, 2 and 4.

6 For the entire church, see Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, pp. 443, 701 f.; Marucchi, 1890, p. 116 f.; and Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 171 ff.

7 Marucchi, *op. cit.*, 1890, p. 119 f.; Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 173 f. We base our description on the latter's report and on his photograph (our fig. 239).



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 240a. S. Valentino. Crypt, showing east wall of crypt (right), and wall and foundation of north mausoleum (left), abutted to its right by chord wall of early apse

original height (fig. 239)[1]. Its interior wall is semicircular, with a diameter of 4.40 m.; its exterior is rectilinear and was built *a sacco* against the cliff of Monte Parioli. On its chord, Apollonj Ghetti discovered the lower portions of an altar block and left them open to inspection in the east wall of a niche which branches off the crypt corridor[2] (pl. XVII; fig. 247). The altar measured 0.40 m. square and was built of brick, with a modulus of five bricks and five mortar beds per 27 cm. The brickwork rests on a stone slab, somewhat larger than the altar, at a level 1.12 m. above that of the later nave; the underside of the slab is 1.00 m. above nave level. The former figure would thus appear to be the level of the early apse as well, assuming that the stone slab was part of a step leading to the apse floor. The apse wall was heavily coated with plaster on the inside and apparently carried a marble revetment[3]. On the photograph there appears to be, below the plaster coat, a masonry of stone and marble fragments[4] (fig. 247). At a later time, a filling which raised the original floor level the height of one low step was placed in the apex of the apse against the original plaster coat.

The outer apse measures 8 m. in diameter and was built of *opus listatum* in alternate courses of tufelli and brick, both very worn and shapeless[5]. At its apex it has a small throne niche, 1.43 m. wide, 0.75 m. deep and, according to Apollonj Ghetti's section, roughly 1.60 m. above nave level[6]. The floor level of the apse, as indicated by Apollonj Ghetti, was the same as that of the throne niche. The wall of the small apse is bonded at both springings to a long rectilinear wall running north

[1] Apollonj Ghetti unfortunately gives only a few figures for the levels of the findings, but his longitudinal section (*op. cit.*, p. 178), though small, provides an approximation. He seems to mark the level of the early apse at ca. 1.10 m. above nave level; that of the altar, at only 0.40 m. above the nave (p. 175); finally, the cut-off level of the early apse is indicated at 1.60 m. above the nave level. The first measurement seems correct; the second does not tally with our measurement, 1.00 or 1.12 m.; the cut-off point of the apse, judging by Apollonj Ghetti's photograph (our fig. 238) may have been further down, roughly 1.30 m. above nave level, corresponding to plaster strip visible on the wall of the later apse (R. K.).

[2] See Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 174 f. The altar, still well preserved in 1962, was found to be badly damaged in 1967, apparently by treasure hunters who had broken through the west wall of the crypt.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[4] Apollonj Ghetti does not specify the character of the masonry of the apse, but he states (*ibid.*) that the apse is of one build with its chord wall (see below). Since the latter is built of fragments of stone and marble, his observations coincide with ours.

[5] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 181, speaks of a regular alternation of one course of tufelli and two courses of brick, but the photograph shows tufelli and brick alternating in single courses.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 176. There is no trace of a clergy bench, which Marucchi, 1890, p. 119, thought he saw.



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 240b. S. Valentino. East wall of crypt and, behind it, chord wall of early apse

and south for a length of 13.48 m. and thus forming the chord wall of the apse[1]. It is hidden for almost its entire length by the east wall of the later crypt corridor, but it has been laid open at three points: one is near its north end (fig. 240a), where it abuts the earlier south wall of the north mausoleum; the second (fig. 240b) is some two meters south of this point; and the third is at the north springing of the apse. Thus it is possible to see the masonry of the wall, which is solidly built of stone intermingled with fragments of worked marble[2]. Apollonj Ghetti reported that the north and south ends of the chord wall turned west at right angles on the line of the colonnades of the later basilica[3]. Indeed, in his view, the foundation walls of these colonnades, though cut down to the present nave level, were originally the north and south walls of the structure to which the early apse belonged[4]. However, both these contentions are open to serious doubt. At the point near its north end where it has been exposed, instead of turning a sharp corner, the chord wall runs against the antecedent south wall of the north mausoleum. Moreover, the nave stylobates, with their shallow foundations and their width of 1.00 to 1.50 m.[5], are not of one build with either the chord wall or the foundation of the mausoleum south wall. The latter is visible inside the crypt; it is sunk deeply into the ground and is no more than 0.70 m. thick (fig. 240a). The south end of the chord wall, where Apollonj Ghetti noted a corner, is no longer visible behind the east wall of the crypt. Instead, a rectangular pier, 0.76



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 241. S. Valentino. Fourth century (?) pier, south end, west wall of crypt, from northwest

[1] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[2] See also, *ibid.*, p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 183.

[5] See below, p. 298.

m. wide, protrudes from the west wall of the crypt into the present nave area, for a distance of 0.43 m. (pl. XVII; fig. 241; see also fig. 244, right edge). It clearly antedates the crypt wall which abuts it. The masonry technique of the pier differs greatly from the crude brickwork of the crypt wall. It stands over a solid foundation wall which rises from crypt level and is topped by a few courses of well-cut ashlar blocks. These stop some 70 cm. above the basilica floor level and thus at a level which corresponds to that of the north mausoleum. Above this, the pier is built of excellent brickwork with but one single course of tufelli inserted, accurately laid in hard mortar which is struck off at the face with upward-facing oblique trowel strokes. The mortar beds are 3.25 to 4 cm. thick and the modulus is about 4 1/2 courses per R. ft. On the north face of the pier (fig. 241) this masonry still rises to a height of 0.80 m. above nave level, while on the west and south faces only about 0.30 m. of the original brickwork is preserved. The pier was intended to be seen on its north, west and south faces. To the east it is broken off in line with the inside face of the crypt west wall. Originally it must have extended eastward and presumably met the chord wall; but this extension was demolished when the crypt was built. The character of the brickwork leaves little doubt that the pier is of Early Christian date, very possibly from the fourth and not later than the fifth century.



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 242. S. Valentino. Pier at north end, west wall of crypt

The corresponding pier to the north has largely disappeared. In its place stands the bottom section of a much longer pier, which originally projected as much as 1.23 m. from the crypt wall. Built of poor rubble masonry over a very shallow footing, it is bonded to the bottom stretch of the crypt wall (figs. 242; 243*b*, top). As we shall see, this latter postdates the nave colonnades[1]; hence the bottom courses of the pier must also be late. However, these bottom courses are oversailed by a few courses of roughly hewn stone blocks which project from deep inside the crypt wall. The blocks include a stone slab at the same level as the north mausoleum and roughly level with the beginning of the brick masonry on the south pier. These stone courses placed atop the foundation of the mausoleum south wall seem to represent the north counterpart of the south brick pier.

The north and south sides of the nave are defined by the stylobates of the nave (pl. XVII; figs. 243*a*, *b*). The north stylobate was uncovered in 1888 for a length of more than 25 meters, the south stylobate for a length of only 11 meters (fig. 237)[2]. Both are broad, though irregular in width. Near the first column base, the north stylobate is 1.59 m. wide, but between the first and second base it measures only 1 m., and near the third base, 1.20 m. The footing is extraordinarily shallow, and the foundation of the north stylobate does not continue east beyond the first column base. The top level of the stylobates, marked by the column plinths resting thereon, lies, at the easternmost column of the north colonnade, 0.81 m. below the level of the north mausoleum; at the second visible column it is 0.85 m. lower, and at the third, 0.93 m. These columns were the first, third and fourth plinths of the original colonnade; their levels are 1.12 m., 1.16 m. and 1.24 m.,

[1] See below, p. 303 f.
[2] Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 443 and Marucchi, 1890, pls. 1 and 2, give the width of the stylobate walls as 1.50 m.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 243*a*. S. Valentino. North stylobate of nave, during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti, seen from southeast



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 243*b*. S. Valentino. North stylobate of nave, from west, 1967

respectively, below the early apse and roughly another 0.50 m. below the late apse. It will be noted that the stylobate level drops 12 cm. from the first to the third visible column, and it is possible that this slope continued to the west façade. Marucchi found a few column plinths and bases, or imprints of plinths on the stylobates. Counting from the east for the north stylobate these were the first, third, fourth and ninth columns; on the south stylobate he found the imprint of the second plinth[1]. According to Marucchi, all the bases were found either *in situ* or else their settings could be traced. At present, the short visible stretch of the north stylobate carries three bases, in the places of the first, second and third columns (figs. 243*a*, *b*), while the visible part of the south stylobate carries two bases, in the position of the first and second. Thus some of the bases, the second to the north and the first to the south, were set in position after the excavation[2]. However, the first and third north plinths and the second south plinth are still *in situ*; indeed, since the first north plinth is larger than the others, the foundation wall below it has been broadened (figs. 243*a*, *b*). The bases, all spoils, vary in diameter from 0.60 to 0.85 m.; a single, broken column shaft of granite remains; it has a diameter of 0.58 m. and is 2.05 m. high. When found, the clear distances between the bases were reported as 2.15 m.[3], thus resulting in intercolumniations 2.75 to 2.95 m. wide from column center to column center. However, the distance between the first and third bases of the north colonnade now measures 6.20 m., thus giving 3.10 m. for each of the two intercolumniations; thus the span of intercolumniations through the basilica apparently ranged as high as 3.10 m.

At a distance of 5.30 m. from the south edge of the south stylobate, the rock has been cut in a straight line, and it is likely that this cut corresponds to the outer wall of the south aisle. There is no evidence that the bases, Ionic capital and column shaft found in 1888 in the neighboring vineyard belong to the church[4].

[1] Marucchi, 1890, p. 118, and pls. 1, 2 and 4.
[2] See however, Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[3] Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 443.
[4] Marucchi, 1890, p. 118.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 244. S. Valentino. West wall of crypt, and walls of chancel screen and of "martyr's grave" during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti

In front of the apse, the east area of the nave encloses a number of brick walls of rough build (pl. XVII; fig. 244)[1]. There are, first, two long parallel walls running east and west, 4.10 m. apart. Near the east end of the south wall, at a distance of roughly 1 m. from the crypt wall and parallel to it, a narrow transverse wall runs south and, with a right-angle turn, abuts against the Early Christian brick pier (fig. 241) near the south end of the crypt. Everything further east, including the east ends of the two long walls, was apparently cut off when the crypt was built. Concomitantly west of this point, the parallel walls were cut down and buried under a new pavement the upper surface of which lies 1.10 m. above the original nave level as marked by the first north column plinth. However, they still extend more than 10 m. into the nave area and rise between 0.65 and 1.10 m. above the original nave level. Since their footings lie from as little as 0.02 m. to as much as 0.17 m. above this level and are placed without foundation on earth fill, they presumably represent a later insertion into the nave. In this context it should be noted that the reused fragment of a Damasian epigram was found built into one of the walls[2]. Near their centers, both walls were interrupted by passages, and the south wall, east of this passage, is provided with a bench. Just west of the opening in the south wall, a wing wall projects south into the aisle;

[1] Mr. Ronald Malmstrom, assisted by Fr. Thomas Mathews, S. J., and Mr. Gert Kaster, was good enough to recheck the levels and relationships of these walls.

[2] Marucchi, *op. cit.*, "Di una sconosciuta iscrizione ...", 1905, p. 103 ff.; and oral information from the discoverer, Professor Josi.

ca. 50 cm. above its footing, a shallow ledge projects on the east face of the wall (fig. 245). No trace of a corresponding wing wall has survived to the north, but it may well have existed. Indeed, the entire set of walls cannot be anything but a chancel screen of a type known in Rome from as early as the early fourth to the early eighth century[1]. Marucchi found seven graves between the walls of the church. Some run east and west, others north and south; one was dated 406 by an epitaph, perhaps *in situ*[2]. But none of these graves are now visible.

A strange feature exists in the center of the chancel area; it is slightly off the main axis and is not necessarily contemporaneous with the chancel walls (pl. XVII; fig. 244). It is an enclosure formed by brick walls of varying strength; its west wall is 61 cm. wide; the north wall, 32 cm; and the east wall 24 cm. All still rise to a level 0.75 m. above the original nave floor. The core of the enclosure formed a hollow rectangle or square, possibly sheltering a venerated object or site. The outer length of the enclosure measured 1.55 m. along the north face; the west face is still 1.26 m. long; but both the west and east face are incomplete, since they are oversailed by a longish block of brick masonry which projects west from the foot of the crypt wall. This block is, in part at least, of later date than the enclosure. However, as observed by Mr. Malmstrom and his team, in the lower portions of the eastern two-thirds of its south face, the block shows remains of an earlier structure founded on a concrete band which is 0.17 m. high and rises from a level 0.09 m. above the first nave level. However, the remaining western third of the block lacks this footing and rests on earth fill, 0.32 m. above nave level. The older, east part seems to represent the south face of the enclosure, which thus would appear to measure 1.55 by 2.05 m. The following observations should be added: at a level 11.5 cm. above the original nave there is a pavement of small marble squares adjacent to this south face; the enclosure was founded on a concrete platform that projects west and rises as much as 0.30 m. above nave level and 0.20 m. above the marble pavement just mentioned; at its east end, the concrete band at the foot of the long block (that is, the south face of the enclosure) turns south to form the footing of a short cross wall which now links the long block to the south chancel wall; along this short cross wall the footing is provided with a low shelf, 3 to 5 cm. deep, but this footing does not continue along the south chancel wall; above the concrete footing, the brickwork of the cross wall does not bond with that of the long block; rather, in its upper parts, the cross wall seems to bond with the south chancel wall.



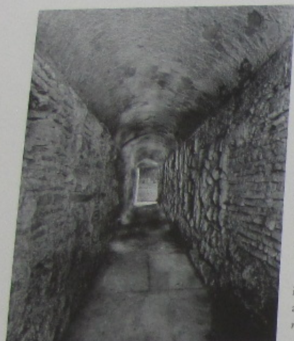
(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 245. S. Valentino. Chancel screen, south wall, and (background) wing wall across south aisle, seen from northeast

Thus, the late parts of the long block, that is, its west end and upper east portions, may well be contemporaneous with the chancel walls. The upper parts of the short wall are possibly later. But the lower parts of the block, its footing and the footing of the short wall belong to the enclosure, as do the marble pavement adjoining the block and the concrete platform on which the west face

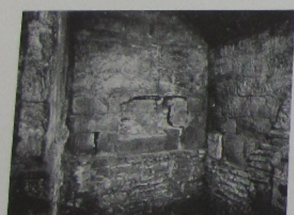
[1] Mathews, "An early Roman chancel arrangement and its liturgical functions", *R. A. C.* 38 (1962), p. 73 ff., and above, p. 252, n. 1.

[2] Marucchi, 1890, pp. 85, 119 and pl. 1.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 246. S. Valentino. Corridor crypt, from north, during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 247. S. Valentino. Exedra off crypt corridor

of the enclosure appears to rest. This enclosure, then, antedates the building of the later parts of the long block. Since the upper portions of the short cross wall bond with the chancel wall and are even later than the late portions of the long block, the enclosure must antedate the layout of the chancel. It may be later than the nave, given the difference in level between the marble pavement and the nave, as marked by the stylobates. However, it is equally possible that the platform which carried the enclosure, as well as the adjacent marble pavement, were designed from the outset to rise above the nave, the former 30 cm. higher, the latter, 11 cm., and were indeed of one build with the construction of the nave.

The function of the enclosure must remain in doubt. It may well have sheltered a venerated grave; or it could have served as a *mensa refrigerii*.

The west half of the nave is hidden beneath the modern roadway, and we only have the excavators' information about it (pl. XVII; fig. 249) [1]. They saw the fourth column base of the north colonnade, following on the third, which is still visible; and far to the west, 26.70 m. from the west chord wall of the apse, they saw another, apparently the ninth. Beside this ninth column base, the excavators found a wall, ca. 1.20 m. wide and parallel to the colonnade. It is 5.30 m. north of the colonnade and thus not in line with the north wall of the north mausoleum which had been transformed into a lateral chapel at the east end of the north aisle. Presumably this wall was the side wall of the north aisle. Thus both the north and south aisles were the same width, 5.30 m. North of this wall lay a series of rectangular compartments which might have been residential quarters. As no doorways were noted by Marucchi, it seems that he found only the lowest courses of these structures. A transverse wall crossed the north aisle at a distance of 23.90 m. from the apse chord. A rectangular niche was set into it close to the stylobate of the nave and thus far off the central axis of the aisle; but clearly this wall was buried below the floor when

[1] Marucchi, 1890, p. 118 and pls. 1 and 2.

the aisle was built. A second wall crossed the aisle, 33.20 m. from the apse chord. Hence it seems that these cross walls and the north wall belonged to a mausoleum antedating the basilica; while the cross walls were buried below the church floor, the north wall was preserved at least in its foundations either to form or to support the north wall of the aisle. Indeed, according to Marucchi's plan, this wall continued both east and west beyond the cross walls of the former mausoleum.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 248. S. Valentino. West wall of crypt, center, showing "*fenestella confessionis*" and (to the left) marble slab of late pavement

The position of the west wall of the basilica remains in doubt. It may have rested on the westernmost of the two walls crossing the north aisle, but there is no indication that this wall continued into the nave area. Indeed, Marucchi suggests that the façade wall was somewhat further west, where, in his time, there rose a small "modern" oratory of S. Valentino about, 36.00 m. west of the apse chord.

A corridor crypt crosses the east end of the nave, parallel with the chord of the two apses and separating the second apse from the nave (figs. 245, 246, 247, 248) [1]. The corridor is at present 2.20 m. high and covered by a vault constructed in 1887 to 1888. Its level lies 0.54 m. below the original level of the nave and thus 1.64 m. below that of the later nave level; hence it is more than 2 m. below the floor of the second apse. The original masonry of the corridor walls still rises to 2.12 m. above its floor level. The width of the corridor increases from 1.10 m. at the south end to 1.47 m. at the north end. Entrances to the crypt are situated in the north and south aisles. The entrance doors and the descending stairs date from 1887 to 1888, but they replace original features (figs. 241, 242, 243*b*). While the west wall of the corridor is 0.40 m. thick, the east wall is but a lining, 0.26 m. thick. The latter is placed against the pre-existing chord wall from which sprang the small apse of the first structure (figs. 240*a*, *b*) [2]. In the center of the crypt a rectangular exedra, 1.60 m. by 1.30 m., opens east into the area of the apses. In its east wall, a masonry block has been uncovered [3] (fig. 247); it has been taken to be the altar of the small, early apse [4], but this is open to doubt. Father Thomas Mathews, S. J., has called our attention to a number of features countering this interpretation. Inside the corridor, near the entrances, one sees the foundation walls (and in the east wall, the rising wall as well) of earlier structures which were cut through when the crypt was built. The marble pavement of the corridor is intact and traces of marble revetment survive on either wall (fig. 246). Three lamp niches are arranged in the west wall; the one in the center, opposite the rectangular space, was later pierced, and it has been suggested that it was used as a *fenestella confessionis* (figs. 244, 248) [5].

[1] Marucchi-Gatti, 1888, p. 632; Marucchi, 1890, p. 119 f.
[2] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
[3] See above, p. 296.
[4] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[5] See below, p. 308.

The masonry of the crypt walls is brick with occasional tufa and marble fragments, laid in undulant courses with an irregular modulus of 4 1/2 to 5 courses per R. ft.[1]. The external, or west, face of the west wall (figs. 245, 248) displays at its base a band of unfaced rubble which rises from the level of the original nave; it was once 1.10 m. high, but at present only about 0.50 to 0.60 m. of the band is visible. The band was apparently built from inside the crypt against an earth filling under which were buried the original floor of the nave and the chancel wall; it was clearly a foundation wall, not intended to be seen[2]. Above this level rises the crypt wall proper; it is built of the same poor brickwork that is seen on the inside face.

Thus, the crypt belongs to a new building period and is later than the original nave and its corresponding second apse. Indeed, by the time the crypt was built, the level of the nave pavement had apparently been raised 0.56 m. This level is marked both by the top of the rubble band at the base of the crypt wall and by a marble slab, 0.07 m. thick, presumably the remnant of a new pavement, which projects at the same level from the crypt wall (fig. 244, just left of center, and fig. 248, *left*). The upper surface of this slab rises 0.56 m. above the first nave level. It is also clear that in this phase the crypt must have risen to a considerable height above the new nave level: more than one meter, given the extant height of its original wall, 2.12 m., and its level, 0.54 m. below the original and 1.10 m. below the new nave floor. Hence, the floor of the apse in this phase also must have been level with the ceiling of the crypt, if not higher, roughly 1.10 m. above the new and ca. 1.66 m. above the original nave floor.

F. RECONSTRUCTION

The basilica of S. Valentino seems to have developed from a row of antecedent mausolea in an open air cemetery which stood at the foot of the Parioli escarpment, on the east side of the ancient Via Flaminia (fig. 249). Three or four small mausolea with absidal niches in their east walls stood north of the church. Larger chambers with niches, probably also mausolea, stood on the site subsequently occupied by the church; they were incorporated in its structure as the east ends of the north and south aisles. In the first stage of evolution, another apsed building stood between these two chambers. It is too large for an ordinary tomb and, in view of the later history of the site, we take it to be the original *memoria* of Saint Valentine. The Christian structures on the site represent at least three and possibly four successive phases of construction.

1. The Memoria

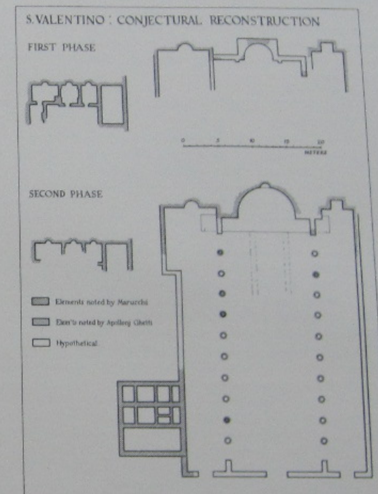
The first building, the *memoria* laid out on the cemetery between the earlier mausolea, survives in but a few elements: the small apse and the masonry block it enclosed (figs. 239, 247), both at roughly the same level as the antecedent, possibly pagan, north mausoleum; the chord wall (figs. 240*a*, *b*), 13.48 m. long, which bonds with the early apse and, at its north end, runs against the south wall of the north mausoleum; the brick pier which projects from the west wall of the crypt

[1] The large stone blocks seen in figs. 244 and 248, as well as at the far end of fig. 246 and in the walls of the rectangular niche, fig. 247, date from the 1880's.

[2] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 180, erroneously regards this bottom zone as an earlier wall, antedating the construction of the crypt and belonging to the original basilica.

near its south entrance (fig. 241) and which presumably connected further east with the south end of the chord wall.

The scantiness of these remains makes it hazardous to visualize the first building. It has been reconstructed as an aisleless hall, 13 m. wide and of undetermined length, on the assumption that the stylobates of the nave colonnades were originally the side walls of the hall, subsequently



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 249. S. Valentino. Conjectural reconstruction

cut down to the later nave level[1]. But as we have seen, this assumption is unfounded; at best one could assume, though without the support of any evidence, that the nave stylobates replaced side walls. In that case, however, the brick pier to the south would be hard to explain; it could only be the eastern jamb of a door opening into the adjoining south mausoleum. Under the circumstances we think it just as likely that the first *memoria* had no nave whatever and was an area open to the sky, with its focus the grave of the martyr. The position of the grave, situated at what

[1] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

later became nave level, is now marked by the late martyr's enclosure (figs. 244; 249, foreground). Behind it, at a higher level, the apse was scooped out of the cliff and joined on either side to the chord wall which rose from ground level, as marked by the grave. The site around the grave was 13.48 m. wide in front of the apse and delimited to the east by the apse and chord wall, to the north by the south wall of the north mausoleum, and to the south by a short wall, terminating in the brick pier and placed against the north wall of the antecedent south mausoleum. The *memoria* thus would have been an *area martyrum*, as they are known from Early Christian North Africa; but such *areas* certainly existed in Italy as well. Contrary to Marucchi's assumption, the grave of the martyr, Saint Valentin, was probably not in the catacomb. In our opinion it was in the *area*, at the foot of the early apse, where it was set off by a rectangular " martyr's enclosure " after the basilica was built.

2. The basilica

At some time, this *memoria* was replaced by a regular basilica (fig. 249). The first, small apse was demolished and a larger one, 8 m. wide, was built at a level 0.50 m. higher (fig. 239) [1]. In the nave area, 1.60 m. below the new apse level, stylobates were laid out to support the nave colonnades (figs. 243*a*, *b*); as a result the south wall of the north mausoleum and the north wall of the south mausoleum were shortened, leaving only tongue piers to carry the end arcades of the colonnades. The nave of the new church thus was the same width as the earlier *memoria*, 13.50 m. The aisles were 5.50 m. wide, except at the east end where at least the left aisle incorporated the wider antecedent north mausoleum; it is likely that the south mausoleum was similarly used for the right aisle. Columns separated the nave and aisles. The columns, their bases and presumably their capitals were all of different diameters and evidently spoils. Given the width of the intercolumniations, 3.10 m., the columns probably carried arches. Since the length of the nave and the position of the façade are unknown, the original number of columns and intercolunmiations cannot be determined on archaeological evidence. However, the gift of two sets of twenty-two curtains each, presented by Hadrian I, suggests there were eleven intercolumniations and hence ten columns on either side of the nave. The length of the nave would then have been ca. 38 meters, which is the sum of the distances of the columns, roughly 34 meters, plus the length of the eastern tongue piers, 2.90 m., and the presumably shorter west end piers.

A rectangular enclosure, discussed above, rose on the center axis of the nave, 2.30 m. from the apse chord (figs. 244, 248). It measured 1.55 by 2.05 m., was hollow within, and was raised 0.30 m. above the nave on a platform. We do not know how far west this platform extended, but in view of its height, two or three steps must have led to the western face from nave level. On its sides, it was apparently flanked by a lower platform, only 0.11 m. high and covered by a marble pavement that is still preserved along the south face. Since the concrete footing of this south face turns at its east end and continues south below a later short wall, a wing wall, running north to south, must have flanked the enclosure. The shelf at the foot of the short wall suggests that it was designed to support a marble revetment. The length of this original wing wall cannot be determined, nor does any trace remain of a corresponding north wing wall. The function of the enclosure remains unknown, but very likely it was designed to shelter the martyr's grave, which remained at the place it had occupied in the open air cemetery and in the *memoria*.

Since the difference in level between nave and apse was 1.60 m., a flight of at least eight

[1] See above, p. 296.

steps was necessary to join them; eight steps, each 0.20 m. high, would have given a very steep grade. However, the number and placement of these steps remains in doubt. Apollonj Ghetti has suggested a flight running the entire width of the nave [1]. This is possible, but it is equally likely that a narrower flight of steps ascended from the middle of the nave, behind the martyr's enclosure. Since, however, in either case the steps would start very close to the rear face of that enclosure, one might also consider an alternative in which two narrow flights ascended to the apse, one from either side of the nave.

3. The chancel

The footing levels of the chancel barriers lie throughout above the original nave level, sometimes considerably so. Thus the chancel can only be a later insert. It is not difficult to reconstruct its main outlines. At the foot of the apse, projecting 3 meters west into the nave and presumably enclosing the stairs, the first area extended across the entire width of the nave, 13.10 m. It was marked off by a narrow wall which is still visible in front of the crypt wall, abutting against the Early Christian brick pier (fig. 241). From this section a longish rectangular area projected west into the nave. Enclosed by quite strong walls and maintaining a constant width of only 4.10 m., it still projects at least ten meters into the nave, though originally it may well have been much longer (fig. 244). The position and form of its entrance remain unknown. Indeed, it could have been preceded by a *dromos*, narrower than the main area and of considerable length, much like the sixth century arrangement of S. Marco [2]. Although only the south portion survives, flanking areas extended on either side of this main section. Separated from the nave to the west by cross walls, they communicated with the center area through passageways. At the east these flanking sections apparently terminated with the thin cross walls of the wide rear area; thus they were only five meters deep. The liturgical functions of this chancel arrangement have been clarified by Fr. Mathews who has pointed out, *inter alia*, that the flanking areas served as *senatorium* and *matroneum* for the reception of the offerings and the distribution of communion respectively [3]. In this context the ledge at the rear of the cross wall is also explained.

We cannot explain, however, the longish block of brickwork which projects from near the middle of the center area and oversails the older martyr's enclosure, which was thus eliminated. It looks as though it carried an ambo, but the central section is not the normal site for an ambo in this type of chancel arrangement. It could not be the base for an altar either. We think it best to leave the matter open. Clearly, however, at the time it was built the martyr's enclosure, which it oversails, had lost all significance. Evidently, the martyr's remains had by then been removed from their original resting place within the enclosure and transferred elsewhere, presumably to an altar on the level of the late, larger apse, or to a small confessio beneath such an altar. This confessio would probably have rested atop the masonry block which belonged to the apse of the early *memoria* and is now visible from the exedra projecting east from the crypt corridor (fig. 247).

[1] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 176 and fig. 5.

[2] See above, Vol. II, pp. 234 ff., 243, and fig. 179, and Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 73 f.

[3] Mathews, *op. cit.*, *passim*, with reference to the *Ordo Romanus*, I (Andrieu, *Les ordines du haut moyen-âge*, II, *Les textes*, Louvain, 1948).

4. The corridor crypt

A final remodeling of the basilica is linked to the construction of the corridor crypt running north and south across the east end of the nave (pl. XVII; figs. 244, 246, 247). In building it, the nave level was raised 56 cm. and the chancel walls were cut down to that level and buried beneath a new floor (fig. 244). The crypt wall facing the nave was placed with its foundation into the fill below the new floor. However, the aisles of the basilica seem to have retained their old level and thus remained 56 cm. below the new nave: indeed, the entrances to the crypt were placed in the aisles with but four steps descending to crypt level, 0.54 m. below the old nave, but 1.10 m. below the new [1]. The crypt was apparently focused on an object placed in or visible from the square exedra which branches off east of its center; possibly it was a sarcophagus placed in the exedra or, less likely, the masonry block in the small apse belonging to the early *memoria* (fig. 247). The corridor was lighted only by the entrances and by three lamp niches placed in its west wall. It has been suggested that the niche in the center was originally a *fenestella confessionis* through which to view the exedra from the nave [2], but this is not so; the niche in question was crudely broken through at a late date (figs. 244, 248). The walls of corridor and exedra carried a marble revetment and the floor still consists of marble plaques. The roofing of the corridor remains a moot point; it may have been vaulted or, like the annular crypts of S. Prassede and S. Marco in Rome, covered with stone plaques [3]. In any event, however, the roofing must have reached a level higher than the extant height of the crypt walls, 2.12 m. above its floor, 1.56 m. above the original and 1.02 m. above the new level of the nave.

This height of the corridor, at least 1.56 m. above nave level, makes it approximately level with the apse floor. Indeed, its roof would have served as a shallow but broad forechoir. Again, steps must have ascended to this level. They have been envisaged in two flights, framing the supposed *fenestella confessionis* in the center of the crypt wall [4]. But the *fenestella*, as we saw, never existed; nor does the crypt wall show any traces of stair walls projecting west as would have been necessary. Thus the stairs could possibly have ascended to the crypt roof sideways from the aisles.

In all likelihood, the main altar remained in its previous position on the chord of the apse, and enclosed, possibly in a subterranean confessio, the relics of the saint, transferred from his original grave. The square exedra which projects east from the crypt corridor may well have been designed to establish contact with these relics.

G. CHRONOLOGY

The relative chronology of the Christian structures at S. Valentino — *memoria*, basilica, chancel, crypt — is thus established. But it is not easy to transform this into an absolute chronology by collating it with the few documentary data available: the construction of a basilica by Julius I (337-352); repairs, " magnificent decoration " and reference to a large basilica under Honorius I (625-638); rebuilding " from the ground " and consecration by Theodore I (642-649);

[1] See above, p. 303.
[2] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
[3] See above, Vol. II, p. 239; Vol. III, p. 252.
[4] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 180 f. and figs. 10, 14 and 15.

further repairs under Leo III (795-816); finally minor repairs on the roof of nave and aisles (1058-1060) [1]. The find of a coin of 641 in the crypt and of a Damasian fragment reused in one of the chancel walls may furnish, a *terminus ante quem* and a *terminus post quem*, respectively, but both are of doubtful value [2].

Two alternatives present themselves. The first is the chronology proposed by Marucchi and taken up, with modifications by Apollonj Ghetti [3]. Its point of departure is the dating of the crypt, which it places in the pontificates of Honorius I and Theodore I or of the latter alone. Indeed, the coin of 641 found inside the crypt tallies with this dating. In that case the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that Theodore built the church from the foundations, would have to be taken as an exaggeration; this is possible, but not entirely convincing. Continuing this chain of reasoning, the building of the basilica must then be assigned to Julius I, as indeed Marucchi and Apollonj Ghetti did. The specific references in the Liberian catalogue to a " basilica " built by Julius I support this dating [4]. While the large proportions of the first basilica and the indiscriminate use of spoils give some pause for thought, they do not really militate against a date prior to 350 or very shortly thereafter. The chancel walls would thus date sometime between 350 and 650. The fragment of a Damasian epigram reused in their walls suggests a comparatively late date within this wide span. Since the chancel type under discussion occurs from the early fourth to the early eighth century, their construction could be linked to the repairs of Julius' basilica undertaken by Honorius I, or to an undocumented sixth century building period comparable to the construction of similar chancels at S. Clemente, 533-535, and S. Marco, ca. 550-650 [5]. Finally, the chronology thus proposed would have to assign the construction of the *memoria* enclosing the martyr's grave to a time prior to Julius' pontificate, either to the reign of Constantine [6] or — since it is not listed in the *Liber Pontificalis* among his works — to the late third or the very early fourth century.

The second alternative must start from the assumption that the basilica was built, in accordance with the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, from the ground " *a solo* " by Theodore I. In this case, the *memoria* would have to be assigned to the activity of Julius I, despite the use in the Liberian catalogue of the term *basilica* for Julius' building; the term, indeed, is often used loosely. On the other hand, it is not clear what kind of decoration and repair Honorius I could have executed in the *memoria* (if this was the " basilica " of Julius I) and how the pilgrims of the seventh century could have seen it as a " *basilica magna* " [7]. Also according to this hypothesis, the chancel would have to date after the pontificate of Theodore; this is possible in view of the occurrence of the same chancel type, or a variant thereof, as late as 705 to 707 at S. Maria Antiqua [8]. Finally, this alternative necessitates dating the corridor crypt still later, perhaps in the pontificate of Leo III, who repaired the roofs of the church; the coin of 641 found inside the crypt might, after all, have slipped in by chance. The crypt type of a long corridor with an eastern square exedra finds its closest parallel in Carolingian crypts north of the Alps, for instance at St. Quentin (813-826 or 834) and, with some variation, at St. Médard at Soissons (817-841) [9]. Indeed, a date in the pontificate of Leo III or even at the end of the ninth

[1] See above, corresponding digests.
[2] See above, digs. 366-384, 641.
[3] Marucchi, 1890, p. 113 ff.; Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 186 f. One should remember that Marucchi did not know of the *memoria*.
[4] See above, dig. 337-352.
[5] See above, Vol. I, p. 130 and pl. XIX; Vol. II, p. 234 ff., and fig. 179; and Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[6] Apollonj Ghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[7] See above, dig. 625-638.
[8] See above, Vol. II, p. 260 f. and pl. XVIII and Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[9] Hubert, *L'art pre-roman*, Paris, 1938, p. 58, figs. 36, 37; Claussen, " Heiligengräber im Frankenreich ", unpublished dissertation (Marburg, 1950), p. 195 ff., esp. 219 ff.

century has been occasionally proposed for the crypt of S. Valentino[1]. And while the crypt of the first church at Disentis, referred to in this context, relates in plan neither to the crypt of S. Valentino nor to those in northern France and dates roughly a century prior to the latter[2], it seems undeniable that corridor crypts in a number of variants are as frequent north of the Alps in Carolingian church building as they are rare in Italy and in the seventh century[3].

Nonetheless we side with Marucchi and Apollonj Ghetti in dating the successive building periods of S. Valentino although we propose some minor modifications. The documentary evidence clearly favors the construction of a basilica under Julius I and suggests its existence as a large basilica under Honorius I. The archaeological evidence in no way runs counter to this assumption: the use of disparate spoils finds its counterpart in the building of the nave of St. Peter's, and the considerable size of the basilica of S. Valentino tends to militate in favor of a fourth century date. The chancel barriers could date any time from the fourth to the late eighth century, but given their inferior technique of construction and their reuse of a fragment of a Damasian epigram, a date after 500 is likely. The basilica of Julius I probably suffered during the siege of Rome, 537 and 538. Indeed, the Damasian inscription might have been broken at that time; and the repair of the building and its decoration, including a new chancel, may well have had to wait until the time of Honorius I, one of the first popes after the disasters of the sixth century to focus his attention on cemetery churches, *extra moenia*, such as S. Agnese and S. Pancrazio[4]. But we do not insist on this date and are equally willing to assign the chancel barriers to the undocumented activity of one of the earlier popes active in repairing cemetery churches, such as Pelagius II[5]. Finally, the extremely poor brickwork of the crypt fits in no way with ninth century construction techniques, as represented by S. Martino ai Monti, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla, S. Prassede, SS. Quattro Coronati, S. Stefano degli Abessini and the like[6]. It does coincide, however, with mid-seventh century work, as represented by the apse of Theodore I at S. Stefano Rotondo. Thus we incline toward assigning the building of the crypt to his activity[7]. To be sure, the rebuilting of the basilica *a solo*, as reported by the *Liber Pontificalis*, would have been limited to constructing the crypt, raising the floor 1.10 m. above the original one and concomitantly destroying the chancel barriers, constructing new stairs leading to the apse and perhaps repairing the upper walls of the nave. But this is possible, and the find of a coin of 641 in the crypt tends to confirm it. Moreover, such thorough rebuilding presumably required a reconsecration of the entire church, as reported by the *Liber Pontificalis*. Of the later work on the church that is listed in the documents[8], little has survived. There remain only two fragments of an altar canopy, perhaps donated by Benedict II, but more likely executed later, possibly under Hadrian I or Leo III[9]; and the scanty remains of murals in the left lateral apse, perhaps of eleventh century date[10].

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[1] BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar*, I, Munich, 1924, p. 583 f.
[2] *Ibid.*; MÜLLER, *Disentiser Klostergeschichte*, Einsiedeln and Cologne, 1942, p. 18 ff., with the date 720 to 730.
[3] CLAUSSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 195 ff., with corrections of previous datings of the buildings under discussion.
[4] See above, Vol. I, p. 35; Vol. III, p. 172.
[5] See above, Vol. II, p. 1 ff., *passim*, esp. p. 135 f.
[6] See above, Vol. III, pp. 109 f., 143, 248; Vol. IV, pp. 11, 185. Further examples are S. Anastasia, S. Francesca Romana, S. Marco and S. Maria in Domnica; see above, Vol. I, pp. 33, 229 f.; Vol. II, pp. 237, 317.
[7] On this point we differ with Marucchi and Apollonj Ghetti, who assign the beginning of work on the crypt to Honorius and the completion to Theodore.
[8] See above, dig. 684-685 ff.
[9] They are now preserved in the catacomb, and we concur with APOLLONJ GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 187, in assigning them a ninth century date.
[10] The only clues we have for dating these murals and the corresponding ones in the south lateral apse are the descriptions of MARUCCHI, 1890, p. 123 ff., and his reproduction of the lettering, *ibid.*, pls. 1 and 2. The date he suggests, "after the ninth century", can perhaps be safely changed to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The construction of the *memoria* must therefore antedate the pontificate of Julius I, as pointed out by Apollonj Ghetti[1]. Whether or not it was laid out, as he thinks, between 313 and 337, is a moot question. This date is quite possible, but a date prior to Constantine seems equally plausible to us. Perhaps it was constructed under Maxentius, whose tolerant religious policy is well known[2], or perhaps at the "Time of Peace" between the edict of Galerius of 260 and the last persecution, 303 to 305. To us the layout of an *area martyrum* under the open sky suggests a pre-Constantinian rather than a Constantinian date, at least in Rome.

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The four phases of the building of S. Valentino are all of considerable significance.

The *memoria*, provided our reconstruction is correct, constitutes an early example of a regular *area martyrum* in Rome. Later than the one below St. Peter's, and perhaps contemporaneous with the one laid out at St. Paul's either under or before Constantine, it represents essentially the same type of an open site enclosing a grave and set off by a niche or apse behind it[3]. Thus it takes its place alongside other *areae*, of both similar and different layouts; at S. Sebastiano in Rome[4]; at Tipasa in North Africa, adjoining the basilica of Bishop Alexander[5]; at Bonn and Xanten in the Rhineland[6]; and at Salona in numerous examples, Manastirine, Marusinac, Kapljuć[7].

The basilica of Julius I is important for two reasons. Built between 337 and 352, it represents the first certain example in Rome of the type of basilica which became standard all over the Christian world in the second half of the fourth century: it is composed of a nave, two aisles and a single semicircular apse. Indeed, the nearly contemporaneous first church of S. Marco, while formed of a nave and two aisles, did not necessarily terminate in an apse[8]; and the Constantinian churches surviving wholly or in part, from the Lateran cathedral to St. Peter's, S. Croce in Gerusalemme and the U-shaped covered cemeteries, are all different in plan[9]. Moreover, its location on a cemetery and its function as a martyr's church illustrate the early penetration of the standard type into the realm of funerary architecture, where it replaces, in Rome at least, the older Constantinian U-type.

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[1] APOLLONJ GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[2] VON SCHOENEBECK, "Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius und Constantin", *Klio*, no. 431, 1939, p. 4 ff.; reprinted, Aalen, 1962.
[3] For the *area* at St. Peter's, see APOLLONJ GHETTI, et al., *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano ...*, Vatican City, 1951, p. 107 ff.; TOYNBEE and WARD PERKINS, *The Shrine of Saint Peter*, London, 1956, p. 135 ff.; and KIRSCHBAUM, *The Tombs of St. Peter and Paul*, transl. Murray, New York, 1959, p. 128 ff. Of the original layout of the *area* at S. Paolo f. l. m. only the fragment of an apse, facing east and behind the grave, was seen in 1850; see BELLONI, *Sulla grandezza e disposizione della primitiva Basilica Ostiense ...*, Rome, 1853; BELVEDERI, "L'origine della Basilica Ostiense", *R. A. C.* 22 (1946), p. 103 ff.; and KIRSCHBAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f.; the two latter, however, suggest that the apse belonged to a regular church, either a basilica or a simple hall.
[4] See above, p. 99.
[5] LESCHI, (Note) *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1942), p. 359 ff.
[6] KEMPF, "Frühchristliche Funde und Forschungen in Deutschland", *Actes Ve Congrès d'Archéologie Chrétienne ... 1954* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 22) Vatican City and Paris, 1957, p. 61 ff., with bibliography.
[7] DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo, 1951, p. 71 ff., with bibliography. For the problem of *areae* in general, see GRABAR, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1948, p. 47 ff.
[8] See above, Vol. II, p. 242.
[9] For the Lateran cathedral, see KRAUTHEIMER, CORBETT *et al.*, "La basilica costantiniana al Laterano. Un tentativo di ricostruzione", *R.A.C.*, 43 (1967; *Miscellanea Josi*, II), p. 125 ff.; for S. Croce, see above, Vol. I, p. 165 ff.; for the covered cemeteries, see above, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff., 191 ff. and Vol. IV, p. 147, as well as DEICHMANN, "Die Lage der Konstantinischen Basilika der Heiligen Agnes", *R. A. C.* 22 (1946), p. 213 ff.; DEICHMANN-TSCHIRA, "Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena", *Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.* 72 (1957), p. 44 ff.; and KRAUTHEIMER, "Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 11 (1960), p. 15 ff.

The chancel barriers, whether built by Honorius or by one of his close predecessors, furnish one more example of the type customary in Rome apparently since Constantinian times; the type appears again, about 400 A.D., in Church A of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and lasts until at least 705 to 707, when it occurs at S. Maria Antiqua. Likewise, the link of the type to the liturgical ritual, as reflected by the *Ordo Romanus* I, is confirmed [1].

Finally, the corridor crypt represents a *hapax legomenon* in mid-seventh century Rome; indeed, it is altogether unique in Rome. Its layout was probably conditioned by the desire to have subterranean access to a venerated spot, joined to the impossibility of laying out this access inside the curve of the apse as an annular crypt, like the older ones at St. Peter's and S. Pancrazio [2]. The corridor type finds no successor in Rome, nor for that matter, elsewhere in Italy. But it seems likely that the unique crypt at S. Valentino became the model on which drew the ninth century builders of the crypts at Saint Quentin and St. Médard at Soissons — two further examples of the Carolingian revival of Roman Eearly Christian church building [3].

[1] See above, p. 252, note 1.
[2] Apolloni Ghetti, *op. cit.*, *Esplorazioni*, p. 173 ff.; Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 216 ff.; Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[3] Krautheimer, " The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture ", *Art Bulletin* 25 (1942), p. 1 ff.

S. VITALE

(*R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett*)

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B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Ancient descriptions.

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Cancellieri, *Adversaria de Ecclesiis Urbis Romae*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 9167, p. 7 f.
Pesarini, *Schedario*, Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 13128, f. 352 ff.

II. Ancient illustrations.

1555—1573 S. Peruzzi, Sketch plans of church, measured and inscribed " *sa Vitale Rome* " and " *via che da San Vitale va a Thermine* ", pen and ink; Florence, Uffizi, dis. arch. 654v (our fig. 270), 688v; cf. Pesarini, *Vat. lat.* 13128, f. 357.

1551 Bufalini, Plan of church, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911; Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 197).

1557 PACIOTTI, View from north, engraving; Map of Rome; (FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 228).

1576 CARTARO, View of church from apse, engraving (ROCCHI, *Piante iconografiche*, Turin and Rome, 1902, pl. 16: TOMEI, *op. cit.*, fig. 116; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 237).

1577 DUPÉRAC-LAFRÉRY, Bird's-eye view of church from south, with north courtyard, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, Rome, 1908; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 254).

1588 FRA SANTI, Façade of church, inscribed "*Temp. S. Vitalis*", woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 60 (our fig. 271).

1593 TEMPESTA, View from west, woodcut; *Urbis Romae Prospectus* (ed. SCHÜCK, Stockholm, 1915); republished, map of 1606 (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 265).

1611 RICHEONE, View of church interior from west, and of monastery gardens, showing church and façade, engravings; *op. cit.*, opp. pp. 473, 683 (our figs. 250, 251).

1625 MAGGI, View from west, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1915; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 310).

1676 FALDA, View from west, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, *Roma al tempo di Clemente X*, Rome, 1931; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, pl. 359).

C. CHRONOLOGY

386 Saint Ambrose finds the relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius in Milan and, a few years later, that of their presumed father, Saint Vitalis, in Bologna (*Exhortatio Virginitatis*, I, MIGNE, *P.L.*, 16, col. 352 f.; *Epistolae*, 22, *ibid.*, col. 1062).

401—417 Innocent I dedicates "*basilicam sanctorum Gervasi et Protasi*", built from a bequest of Vestina, wife of an *illustris*, under the direction of the presbyters Ursicinus and Leopardus, and the deacon Livianus: "*ex devotione cuiusdam inlustris feminae Vestinae, laborantibus presbiteris Ursicino et Leopardo et diacono Liviano ... ex delegatione inlustris feminae Vestinae*" (*L.P.*, I, p. 220). He furnishes it with two silver patenes, each weighing twenty pounds; two silver *amas*, each weighing twenty pounds; twelve silver crowns, each fifteen pounds; a *farus cantharus* weighing twenty-two pounds; four silver candelabras, twenty-five pounds each; a silver tower ("*turrem*") with patene and a gilded dove, weighing 30 pounds. He also establishes a baptistery and provides it with a number of silver vessels, chalices, *scyphi, fari canthari*, and a silver stag spouting water, weighing thirty pounds. (*L.P.*, I, p. 220 ff.).

499 Caelius Ianuarius, Soronus and Opilio each sign as "*presbyter tituli Vestinae*" at the synod held that year (*M.G.H.*, *Auct. ant.*, XII, p. 411 f.).

595 Johannes and Expectatus, "*presbyter Sancti Vitalis*", sign at the Synod held that year (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 336 f.).

590 A decree of Gregory the Great, establishing the procession of the litanies, states: "*litania viduarum ab ecclesia martyris Vitalis*" (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, II, p. 36; MIGNE, *P.L.*, 76, col. 1311). The procession of the clergy of the fourth region begins "*ab ecclesia sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii*" (GREGORY OF TOURS, citing the decree of Gregory the Great, *Hist. Francorum*, X, 1; *M.G.H.*, *SS. Rer. Mer.*, I, 1, Hanover, 1884, p. 408; MIGNE, *P.L.*, 71, col. 529 *a*).

600 Johannes signs at the synod as "*presbyter titulo sanctorum Protasi et Gervasi*" (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, II, p. 275).

VII century Epitaph of Abundantius "...ACOL. REG. QVARTE TT. VESTINE ...", found in cemetery of S. Agnese (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 536, no. 1185; *L.P.*, I, p. 223, n. 6 s.; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 242, no. 1249).

ca. 795 The Einsiedeln Itinerary mentions "*Sci Vitalis in Vico Longo*" and "*In Sinistra Thermae Diocletianae. Sancti Vitalis*" (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsiedlense*, p. 437 ff.; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 179).

795—816 Leo III donates in "*titulo sancti Vitalis*" two textiles, one embroidered with the story of the Resurrection, and, in 806, a silver crown, weighing nine pounds (*L.P.*, II, pp. 11, 21, 32) [1].

827—844 Gregory IV gives textiles "*beato Vitali martyri*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 77).

853 Hadrianus, "*presbyter tituli S. Vitalis*", attends the council of 853 (MANSI, *Conciliorum*, XIV, p. 1021).

[1] Regarding the dates, see HÜLSEN, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922), p. 107 ff. esp. 110.

858—867 Nicholas I donates an icon of S. Vitalis (possibly showing just his face): "*in tituli Vestinae expressae figure beato Vitali martyris fecit iconam, habentem IIII lib. et semis*" (*L.P.*, II, p. 158).

1188—1192 Cencius Camerarius lists "*Sancto Vitale*" as receiving the considerable sum of two *solidi* (HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 10; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 230).

1313—1339 The Turin catalogue of churches lists S. Vitale as a title church; it is still served by four clerics but is in ruins: "*Ecclesia Sancti Vitalis, titulus presbiteri cardinalis, sine muris; habet IIII clericos*" (HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 10; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 230).

1368 Cardinal Nicolo de' Cappocci in his will leaves property for the purpose of restoring S. Vitale (ADINOLFI, *op. cit.*, II, p. 261, quoting a copy of the will in the *Archivio del Gonfalone*, *mazzo* O, p. 6).

1396 Giannotto di Niccolò di Primicerio de Judicariis bequeathes in his will four gold *fiorini* for the construction of the door of the monastery of S. Vitale (ADINOLFI, *loc. cit.*).

1447—1455 Nicolas V repairs the church; his monogram was seen by Adinolfi under the wall of the campanile (*ibid.*).

1475 In a major restoration campaign Sixtus IV eliminates the aisles of the church by blocking the nave colonnades; inscription above the entrance door to the church: "*Sixtus IIII Pont. Max. a. fundamentis restauravit anno jubelei M.CCCC.LXXV*" (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IX, p. 221, n. 356; URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", pp. 214, 264, 271; ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilis ... Romae*, c. 78ᵛ).

1512 The title cardinal, Antonio del Monte, repairs the church, but the extent of the work is unknown; an inscription, now lost, once read: "*Ant. a. Monte. tt. S. Vital. pr. card. papien. reparavit M.D.XII*" (SPANISH ANONYMOUS, Rome, Vatican Library, cod. Chigi, I, V, 167, f. 300; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IX, p. 221, no. 357).

1570—1584 Cardinal Cesi restores the high altar (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 144 ff.).

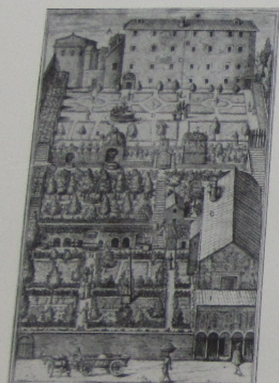
1592—1605 Clement VIII restores the church, which was in bad repair, and places it under the auspices of the Novitiate of the Jesuits at S. Andrea al Quirinale: "*resto abbandonata, e minacciando ruina Clemente VIII, l'anno 1595 l'uni alla vicina di S. Andrea, dove i Padre Gesuiti hanno il Novitiato; ... che la ridussero a bellissima proportione, e vaghezza, aiutandoli Isabella della Rovere Principessa di Bissignano ...*" (PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, p. 302; for the Papal Bull of 1598, ceding S. Vitale to the Casa Professa di S. Andrea al Quirinale, see HUETTER and GOLZIO, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.). G. B. Fiammeri, Andrea Commodo and others paint murals on the façade and portico, now lost, as well as altar paintings and murals inside the church (BAGLIONE, *Vite*, Naples, 1743, pp. 93, 206, 220; TITI, *Descrizione*, p. 284).

1859 Pius IX undertakes a major restoration of the church; his inscription is above the door inside the church: "PII. IX PONT. MAX. MUNIFICA. PROVIDENTIA. OLIM. VETUSTATE. PATISCENS. NUNC. STO. ET. IN. MELIUS. NITEO. AN. MDCCCLIX" (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IX, p. 222, n. 358).

1956 The Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, under the direction of G. Matthiae, uncovers the original façade and portico (MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ff., figs. 1 and 2; our fig. 252).

D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Vitale stands on the west side of Via Nazionale, the Roman Vicus Longus, which in ancient times ascended from the Argiletum to the Baths of Diocletian, following the valley between the Quirinal and Viminal hills[1]. The apse was built close to the steep bank of the Quirinal, while the façade appears to have been set back about 5.5 m. from the north side of the Vicus (pl. XVIII;



(Richeome, op. cit., p. 472)

Fig. 250. S. Vitale. Air view, 1611



(Richeome, op. cit., p. 682)

Fig. 251. S. Vitale. Interior, 1611

fig. 250). The axis of the church being more or less normal to the street, it was oriented from south-east to northwest; but for the sake of brevity, we shall speak of the apse as being at the west end of the nave. When the modern Via Nazionale was constructed between 1870 and 1880, the road level was elevated by about 6 m. in front of the church, with the result that the façade now stands far below street level and is approached by a steep flight of descending stairs. At the foot of these steps the entrance to the nave is protected by a colonnaded narthex of five arches beneath which a fifteenth century doorway opens directly into the nave (figs. 250, 252, 271). The interior is a simple hall without aisles. At the west end the chancel is divided from the body of the nave by a chancel rail and, on either side, by rectangular piers which project from the side walls (fig. 251). A doorway at the south side of the chancel leads into the sacristy. To the north,

[1] Santangelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f., 120 f.

a semicircular chamber adjoins the chancel, but it is accesible only from the outside. In plan and exterior form the church thus presents itself, by and large, as Sallustio Peruzzi saw it (fig. 270) and as remodeled in 1475, when the aisles were abolished[1]. The only later changes on the exterior were made in 1956 and consisted in reopening the front arcades of the narthex and uncovering those in the narthex rear wall, that is, in the façade of the nave; part of the original upper nave façade was exposed as was the first arch of the north nave arcade[2]. Inside, the nave still shows the fresco decoration and the altars installed in the remodeling of 1592 to 1605[3]. The courtyards to the north, south and west, which protect the church from the higher level of the surrounding ground, existed as early as the sixteenth century[4]. But they were regularized, apparently in the 1880's, to judge by the masonry of their high retaining walls. It is evident that the north and south courtyards take the place of former aisles.

E. ANALYSIS

1. The Narthex

The five front arches of the narthex are supported on four columns set between masonry end piers (pl. XVIII; fig. 252). The restoration undertaken in 1956 by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio has uncovered the original masonry; it consists of alternating courses of tufelli and brick in which one course of each material together with two courses of mortar have an average height of 0.17 m. (fig. 253). The tufelli vary in thickness from 8 to 10 cm. while both mortar and bricks are, as is usual, 3 to 4 cm. thick. The mortar face is generally set very slightly behind the brick face and, as a rule, is troweled to a smooth vertical surface. However, in certain places, notably near corners and in archivolts, the mortar is sometimes worked to a two-faceted convexity. At points where additional strength is required, tufelli are omitted and the wall face is constructed entirely in brick; this occurs in the archivolts and in the spandrels of arcades. It is this type of masonry which occurs throughout the original parts of the Early Christian structure.

The four columns which support the narthex are 4.29 m. high; they have shafts of grey granite, bases and capitals of marble[5] (fig. 254). The capitals are a simplified version of the Composite order, in which a single tier of unserrated leaves is surmounted by volutes which are carved accurately but with an economical absence of relief (fig. 255). We believe that these, like most of the architectural ornament at S. Vitale, were made expressly for the church and are of early fifth century date; indeed, they resemble the capitals worked for the construction of S. Paolo f. l. m. in 385, in particular the Composite capitals formerly in the outer arcades[6]. Travertine pulvins with cyma profiles, placed atop the capitals, support the springings of the brick archivolts.

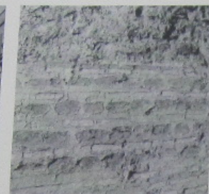
The arches of the narthex arcade are built with 0.40 m. bricks which radiate fairly accurately but from a point below the level of the springing, where the lowest voussoirs are already inclined. As the imposts are little more than 0.35 m. square in plan, the voussoirs at the bottom are only about 0.20 m. wide and are neatly interleaved for a distance of 0.80 m. above

[1] See above, dig. 1475.
[2] Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ff.
[3] See above, dig. 1592-1605.
[4] See the maps of Dupérac-Lafréry and Tempesta, cited above, p. 314.
[5] Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 117 n. 9.
[6] Deichmann and Tschira, "Die frühchristlichen Basen und Kapitelle von S. Paolo fuori le mura", *Röm. Mitt.* 54 (1939), p. 99 ff., esp. fig. 2; cf. also fig. 6 and pl. 236, showing some small capitals from an unknown location in S. Paolo.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 252. S. Vitale. Façade



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 253. S. Vitale. Masonry of façade, detail

the capitals. From this level up to a horizontal line which is tangential to the extrados, the spandrels above the four columns are filled with brick alone; above that level, and in the two end spandrels, *opus listatum* is resumed. We presume that the external face of the arcade and the intrados were originally revetted with marble plates, which would to some extent have mitigated the excessively slender proportions now seen.

The east wall of the nave stands nearly, but not exactly, parallel to the five-arched outer arcade of the narthex. The central doorway is embelished with a marble door frame which bears Sixtus IV's inscription, dated 1475 (fig. 256). Investigation of this wall, undertaken in 1956, has shown that there was originally a second five-arched colonnade in place of the present façade wall [1]. Thus the nave of the church must originally have opened toward the narthex and consequently only the two parallel colonnades in the front and the rear of the narthex separated the church from the public thoroughfare, the Vicus Longus (pl. XVIII; figs. 256, 269). The arcade which leads from the narthex into the nave is taller than the front arcade (figs. 255, 259). The four granite columns which originally supported it were all 5.08 m. high. Their composite capitals are richer than those of the narthex front arcade in that their bells are ornamented with two tiers of unserrated leaves; but their volutes are left without carved spirals [2]. The inner pair of columns was removed in constructing the central doorway, but the outer pair remains *in situ*. At some point, small lateral doorways apparently pierced the blocking walls of the outer pair of arches, but these too

[1] Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 107 f.

[2] The observations regarding the style of the capitals at S. Vitale are due throughout to Mr. John Herrmann.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 254. S. Vitale. Narthex, capital and arcades of façade

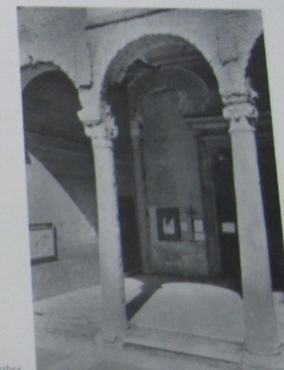
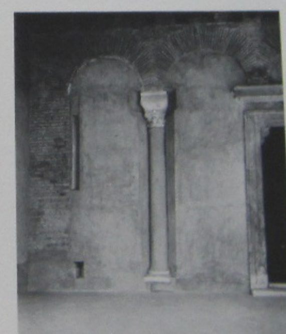


Fig. 255. S. Vitale. Façade of narthex

(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 256. S. Vitale. Narthex, interior arcade

are now blocked. The threshold stone and lintel of the one on the north side are partly conserved (fig. 257). The blocking of the arcades which lead from the narthex to the nave are at present covered with a heavy plaster coat, but in photographs taken in 1957 the blocking appears to consist of brickwork very similar to the original walls of the church and presumably but little later in date. Above the columns, travertine impost blocks support the archivolts, which were revetted with marble plating; some of the plates are still *in situ*, preserved by the inserted blocking walls (figs. 256, 258). At either end of the arcade the end pier is decorated with a slender marble pilaster ornamented with Corinthian base and capital; these are apparently contemporary with the building of the church (fig. 257).

To strengthen the inner arcade in its task of supporting the heavy east façade of the nave, its five archivolts were formed with bipedals



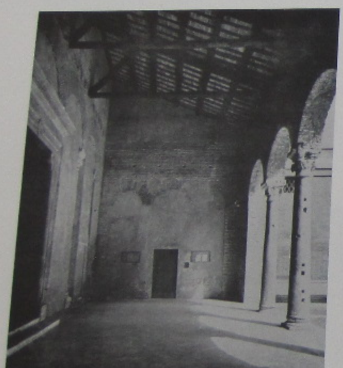
Fig. 257. S. Vitale. Narthex, interior arcade, threshold and base of pier

(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)



Fig. 258. S. Vitale. Narthex, interior arcade, revetment of arch

(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 259. S. Vitale. Narthex, inerior, facing north

in place of the sesquipedals noted in the outer arcade, and the imposts were made stouter (figs. 255, 256). The spandrels between the arches are brick but, as before, *opus listatum* is found in the spandrels of the end piers, and the same material is resumed a few courses above the summit of the extrados (fig. 253). At this level a row of large rectangular beam holes is visible; it presumably housed the original ceiling beams spanning the narthex.

The narthex was apparently bounded to north and south by triple arcades. The south arcade has disappeared but the northern one survives in part (fig. 259). Its columns have disappeared but the arches remain, the sesquipedal archivolts spring at the same level as those of the quintuple front arcade. The central arch was about 10 cm. higher than the lateral ones. Unlike the quintuple arcades, the spandrels of the triple arch are built in *opus listatum*. At the northwest corner of the narthex, where the west end pier of the north arcade meets the north end pier of the inner arcade, the masonry of the triple arch is not bonded and thus is posterior to the fabric of the inner arcade. However, the coursing is exactly the same and we presume that the two are virtually contemporaneous. We cannot confirm this observation by examining the northeast corner because the masonry has been rebuilt in modern times.

2. Upper part of the nave façade

The investigations of 1956 revealed, in the upper part of the façade, the right jamb of an original window in the *opus listatum* masonry at a distance of 1.63 m. from the northeast corner of the nave exterior (figs. 252, 253). The window sill is 11.45 m. above the base of the colonnade below. The window opening was either 1.80 m. or 2.00 m. wide (conflicting dimensions are reported) [1], and the preserved part of the north jamb shows that the springing of the window arch must have been at least 2.53 m. high above the sill, perhaps higher. A vertical fissure which continues the line of the jamb down through the listatum masonry seems to show that at first the sill was designed at a lower level, but was altered during construction. This surviving opening was evidently one of a row of five windows, spaced to correspond with the five arches below.

3. North wall of the nave

The north wall of the church displays on its outer face remains of the arcades which formerly separated the nave from the north aisle and supported the clerestorey wall (pl. XVIII). At the east end of the wall, adjoining the façade, the end pier of the colonnade is built of the same kind of *opus listatum* as previously noted in the narthex and the nave façade (fig. 260). The pier supports the first archivolt of the north nave arcade, which springs from a height of 4.50 m. above floor level; that is, about 0.40 m. below the springing level of the adjacent inner narthex arcade, from which it is separated only by the end pier of the nave. The first arch of the nave arcade is still intact; it rests on the end pier to the left, and on the first column of the colonnade to the right (fig. 261). This column has a granite shaft supported by an attic base with an unusually high pedestal; the seating of the pedestal corresponds fairly well in level with the column bases of the nave façade. The granite shaft is crowned by a marble capital of simplified Corinthian pattern with unserrated leaves; there are only four leaves in the upper tier compared with eight in the lower, and the volutes at the angles above are very simply executed (fig. 261). Over the capital lies a travertine pulvin with cyma profile on which the impost of the brick archivolt rests. The arch is built with bipedals and the masonry of the spandrels is brick, without courses of tufelli. This brickwork continues for eight courses above the apex of the extrados, after which the wall reverts to *opus listatum* (fig. 260). Three courses above the extrados we note a bipedal binding course [2]. The *opus listatum* continues for 4 m., and then, nearly 10 m. above floor level, the early masonry is replaced by later construction. No trace of an original clerestorey window is seen in the surviving masonry, but the *listatum* breaks off at a level below the height of 10.95 m., where clerestorey windows do occur in the west part of the nave [3], and 1.50 m. short of the window sills in the east façade, 11.45 m. above floor level.

The bipedal voussoirs of the original arcade continue in the second arch almost as far as the apex; west of this point the masonry of the archivolt and the wall above changes radically. Evidently the original structure was destroyed in some disaster, probably a fire, which spared only the east arch and less than half of the adjacent archivolt, and the arcade to the west was subsequently rebuilt in masonry of a later period (figs. 261, 262). In place of bipedals the arches

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[1] Matthiae, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[2] It is the latest dated example of a bipedal binding course known to us in Rome.

[3] See below, p. 323 f.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 260. S. Vitale. North wall of nave, east end



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 261. S. Vitale. North wall of nave, column and arcades, east end.

were constructed of radially-set units in which most voussoirs are composed of two short bricks. While the bipedals are over 0.60 m. in length, the restored archivolts are only 0.50 m. long. Nevertheless the columns on which these arches rest are likely to be the original ones, since many of the shafts and capitals closely resemble those which survive at the east end of the colonnade; presumably they were salvaged from the original church. However, some of the columns may have been lost, and perhaps for this reason the rebuilders followed a prevailing fashion and, in restoring the colonnade, replaced every third column with a rectangular pier, 1.20 m. wide. Thus the row of supports was divided into five groups of three arches each, similar to the arrangement in the upper church of S. Clemente and at S. Maria in Cosmedin[1]. The piers are built of small broken bricks indiscriminately mixed with lumps of tufa; where a modulus can be measured we find as many as 7 courses per Roman foot. However, the surface of the piers that we now see on the church exterior was not intended as the original appearance, but was produced by adzing away the original surface. It seems that the piers formerly stood forward from the line of the arcade. Thus they would have protruded like buttresses from the wall face when the arches were finally walled up. To avoid this they were adzed back to a common plane, and what we now see is no more than the core of the former piers. The real character of the masonry of the rebuilt arcade is seen in the spandrels and above the archivolts, where six courses of brick alternating with six of mortar stand 1 R. ft. high, the bricks being small and of varying thickness

[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 121; Vol. II, p. 285



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 262. S. Vitale. North wall of nave, arcade

while the mortar beds are finished with slightly convex pointing. This technique is frequently found in Rome in work of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as on the façade wall of S. Maria Maggiore[1] and the upper walls of the Lateran transept.

The spandrels over the rebuilt arcading are constructed of small bricks for a height of eight courses. The structure is then continued in tufelli (*opera saracinesca*) for about a meter; higher up we find random rubble with thin plaster revetment (*opera a sacco*), a technique often used in Roman building at the time of Sixtus IV (fig. 262)[2]. At a height of 1.60 m. above the apex of the arcading, the wall was formerly pierced by a row of six pointed windows, spaced equally but not related to the intervals of the colonnade. The shape of the windows proclaims them the work of Sixtus IV's builders. Each opening was 1.20 m. wide and 3.00 m. high from sill to apex and was surrounded by a splayed embrasure. Since the Sixtine windows do not correspond with the arcading, we assume that the arcades were sealed up and the aisles abandoned in or before 1475. In a later remodeling, presumably in the sixteenth century, three of the pointed windows were walled up and three were replaced by rectangular openings (pl. XVIII).



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 263. S. Vitale. North wall of nave, west end of arcade and transverse arch with *falsa cortina* pier

Of the four rectangular piers which divide the north colonnade into five sets of triple arches, the first three are alike, and their condition has been described above; but the fourth, the westernmost pier, is different (figs. 262, 263). This pier projects into the church interior, where it forms a buttress, thus separating the nave from the chancel; it is therefore perpendicular to the colonnade instead of being parallel with it like the other piers (pl. XVIII). It also projects externally and forms the abutment of an arch which crosses the former north aisle from south to north (fig. 263). In construction also, this pier is different from the other three. The visible portion is faced with large bricks with a modulus of five courses per R. ft. and finished with well-marked *falsa cortina* pointing as it is characteristic of Romanesque building in Rome[3]. The arch

[1] See above, Vol. III, p. 36.

[2] For example, at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla, and S. Pietro in Vincoli; see above, Vol. III, pp. 145, 218.

[3] For example, at S. Marcello al Corso, S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Maria in Tempulo, S. Maria in Via Lata, S. Pancrazio, S. Prassede, and S. Pudenziana; see above, Vol. II, pp. 211, 293, and Vol. III, pp. 62 f., 68, 165, 173, 249, 291, 296.

which crosses the aisle springs from the pier at a level 0.90 m. above the springing of the nave arcad; it is built of large, radially set brick voussoirs, also finished with *falsa cortina* pointing, and the same type of construction is seen in the spandrels above. At the point where the nave arcade intersects the masonry of the pier and cross arch, it is clear that the latter was already extant when the arcade was built and that a rough slot had to be cut through the *falsa cortina* wall face to admit the lower voussoirs of the contiguous nave arch. Hence the transverse pier and arch are certainly older than the nave arcading which abuts it on the east side. From the style of bricklaying and pointing it might be assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century, whereas the masonry technique of the rebuilt nave arcade, no less than the relation between the two parts, indicates that the nave arcade is later. The transverse arch was later blocked with masonry corresponding with the blocking material of the nave arcades. A small door broken through the blocked transverse arch leads into a chamber which adjoins the presbytery, but is inaccessible from inside the church (pl. XVIII; fig. 270).

Inside this semicircular chamber west of the Romanesque transverse pier and arch, three more arches continue the nave arcading before reaching the end of the area originally occupied by the aisle. However, these three arches do not belong to the series of arcades that was rebuilt in the High Middle Ages and described above. Instead, they evidently date from the original fabric of the church. Indeed, like the easternmost arch of the north arcade, the three west arches are constructed of bipedals and the mortar joints show signs of convex double-faceted pointing. Also, a probe into the flank of the Romanesque pier has revealed a column shaft inside. This too must belong to the original colonnade, for a column in this location was necessary to support the antepenultimate arch of the nave arcade. Presumably the next two columns and the terminating end pier of the arcade also still exist, though now hidden by plaster. Certainly they were visible when Sallustio Peruzzi made his sketch plan, as was the outer wall of the aisle (fig. 270); the hemicycle which now conceals this wall was presumably built in the remodeling of 1592 to 1603 and intended as an apsidal exedra opening from the north end of the chancel and accessible through the triple arcade[1]. Finally, the end wall of the aisle still stands at the end of the



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 264. S. Vitale. Apse and (left edge) end wall of north aisle



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 265. S. Vitale. North clerestorey, western part

[1] The north, outer face of the aisle wall is probably still preserved, hidden behind the retaining wall of the courtyard.

chamber, eight meters west of the Romanesque transverse arch. The north side of its *opus listatum* wall face is visible from the outside. In the original design, the architect differentiated the aisle clearly from the nave by setting in the aisle end wall 15 cm. east of the nave, thus forming a set back, now partly obscured by a rainwater pipe (fig. 264).

As noted above, in the long stretch of the nave arcade that was rebuilt in the High Middle Ages, the upper parts of the nave wall are contemporary with that rebuilding, while other parts date from the remodeling of Sixtus IV. In contrast to this, the nave wall which surmounts the last three arches and rises above the roof of the semicircular chamber is built of *opus listatum* and is apparently part of the original church (fig. 265). The *listatum* masonry stands to a height of nearly 11 m. above floor level and, though obscured by plaster revetment, is apparently uninterrupted by any original clerestorey window (S.C.), although this level corresponds exactly to that of the window sill found at just this point in the opposite wall, the south wall of the nave (R.K.)[1]. The Baroque window which illuminates the chancel is cut down a few courses into the early masonry.

4. The south wall of the nave

The south side of the nave presents the same features as the north wall except that the colonnades and arcades are not visible. They may have been removed and replaced by a plain wall, or else they may still exist within that wall. Higher up, the pointed fifteenth century windows



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 266. S. Vitale. South wall of nave, transverse arch in east wall of sacristy, and south clerestorey



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 267. S. Vitale. South clerestorey, west end

[1] In 1936, I believed I saw here traces of an original window (Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 146), but I am no longer certain (R. K.).

and the later rectangular openings which replace three of these windows of Sixtus IV exactly repeat the details recorded for the north side. Moreover, a Romanesque transverse arch in line with a projecting pier in the nave reflects the corresponding features of the north aisle. This arch, now blocked up, forms the east wall of the present sacristy (fig. 266).

Corresponding to the remains of the original fabric above the westernmost triple bay of the north wall of the nave, the stretch of wall on the south side which extends from the Romanesque cross arch to the west end wall of the former south aisle is also constructed in *opus listatum* (fig. 267). Rising above the terrace roof of the Sacristy, the ancient masonry is better preserved than on the north side; at the extreme southwest corner of the nave it reaches a height of 13.40 m. above floor level. The high wall ceases at a vertical face, 1.42 m. east of the external southwest corner. This fissure is obviously the left jamb of the westernmost clerestorey window. The window embrasure is blocked by a wall which supports a modest belfry of late sixteenth century date, but the opening of the Early Christian window is clearly indicated through the differences in masonry (fig. 267). The sill is formed by a horizontal course of large bricks, 10.95 m. above floor level. The right jamb of the window is now lost, for the *listatum* wall has been cut down to sill level for the remainder of its surviving length (fig. 266). About 10 m. east of the south-west corner of the nave, the *listatum* masonry breaks off in an uneven, approximately vertical line which corresponds to the eastern face of the Romanesque cross arch buttresses; east of this the south wall is apparently of fifteenth century date.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 268. S. Vitale. Remains of original apse vault

5. The west wall and apse

The west wall and apse of the original building stand intact to within a meter or so of what must have been their full height (pl. XVIII; fig. 264). The structure is composed of the same *opus listatum* as the other parts of the original structure, except that brick courses are occasionally doubled and one band of four brick courses passes around the wall at the level of the springing of the apse arch. Inside, the present apse is smaller than the original one and measures but 8.30 m. in diameter instead of the original 11.30 m. (pl. XVIII). The smaller apse was probably created by lining the original one with a strong inner wall, but we are unable to establish its date, whether 1592 to 1605 or earlier, or to give reasons for its construction. The lining, in any event, carries the present half dome which rises to an apex 12 m. above floor level. The original apse was taller as well as larger; where the springing of the apse arch is visible externally beside the cylindrical wall (fig. 264), its base is 10.50 m. above floor level and its apex must have risen to about 16.5 m. The upper part of the original vault has collapsed, but a zone at the base of the vault, about 1 m. high, is visible in the attic story which lies between the extrados of the

present apse vault and the conical tiled roof (fig. 268). This original half dome is revetted with plaster and at present does not display any sign of ancient decoration; however, paintings or mosaics might be discovered beneath the surface.



([illegible], op. cit., fig. 5)

Fig. 269. S. Vitale. Reconstruction

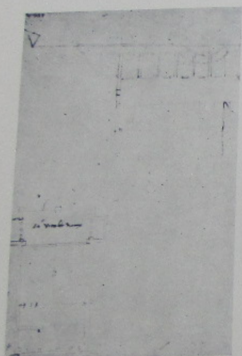
F. RECONSTRUCTION

The main outlines of the original church are easily reconstructed (figs. 252, 269). The narthex remains intact, including its front and flanking arcades. The nave was entered from the narthex through a quintuple arcade, over 20 R. ft. high from the threshold to the apex of the arches. The nave was 150 R. ft. long and its width was 50 R. ft. between the centers of the columns. It was separated from the aisles by arcaded colonnades of 15 arches each, supported by granite columns. The Corinthian and Composite capitals of these columns were probably made expressly for the church. The nave arcades are slightly lower than the arches of the façade wall. At the west end the nave terminated in an apse, 38 R. ft. in internal diameter; its domical vault rose behind an apse arch which sprang at a level 35 R. ft. above floor level. The apex of the vault was probably about 60 R. ft. high. The nave was lit by five large windows in the east façade wall, their sills 39 ft. above floor level and, over the colonnades, by clerestorey windows whose sills were not quite 2 ft. lower than those of the east wall. Presumably there were fifteen windows on each side and all the windows were capped by semicircular arches; they must have been about 6 R. ft. wide and at least 7½ R. ft. high to the springing of their arches. Given the total length of the clerestorey, 150 R. ft., we can compute the width of the spaces between the windows: the corner piers are each 5 R. ft. wide, and the total width of fifteen windows at 6 R. ft. each, is 90 R. ft.; the remainder, 50 R. ft., divides into fourteen interstices of 3½ R. ft. each. A notable feature of the church was the great height of wall between the apex of the nave arcade and the sills of the clerestorey windows; nearly 18 R. ft. high, this blank wall recalls the proportions of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and like it was presumably embellished with paintings or mosaics.

In an early remodeling, still Early Christian, the quintuple arcade through which the narthex communicated with the nave was walled up and replaced by three doors inserted into the outer and center arches.

In the Romanesque period the west portion of the arches and nave were separated from the rest by semicircular arches thrown across the aisles from piers projecting into the nave. We conjecture that the piers originally supported a large triumphal arch, traversing the nave.

Later, the part of the nave east of the Romanesque transverse arches was destroyed, proba-



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 634A)

Fig. 270. S. Vitale. Sallustio Peruzzi, plan



(Cose maravigliose, c. 60)

Fig. 271. S. Vitale. Fra Santi, façade

bly by fire, except for the east wall and the most easterly arches of the nave colonnades. The narthex, east façade and the part of the nave to the west of the transverse arches were spared. In repairing this disaster the ruined arcades were restored; some of the columns were reused but others were replaced with rectangular piers; these were arranged so that the arcades were divided into groups of three arches. We are inclined to think that when the restored walls had reached a height of about 2 m. above the apex of the arcades the work came to a standstill. In two succeeding phases the church was remodeled: the arcades were blocked and the arches abolished, except in their west portions, corresponding to the three last bays of the nave arcades; the clerestorey walls, except for their east and west ends, were rebuilt and pierced with ranges of six pointed window on each side (figs. 262, 266). Finally, in a second remodeling the interior was redecorated; the narthex arcade was walled up and the remnants of the aisles in the west became exedrae, entered from the chancel through the triple arches which survived from the original nave arcading (figs. 250, 251).

G. CHRONOLOGY

There is no doubt that the original basilica dates from the pontificate of Innocent I, 402 to 417. The documentary evidence presented by the *Liber Pontificalis*, particularly the donation list of the founder Vestina incorporated therein, coincides with the archaeological data. The technique of construction in *opus listatum* and brick, the occasional double faceting of the mortar joints, the proportions of the nave, the nave façade opening in a quintuple arcade and preceded by an arcaded narthex — are all features which support this date. The latter characteristic in particular finds its exact counterpart in Roman churches dating from about 400, namely S. Clemente, dated ca. 380; Church A of S. Pietro in Vincoli, ca. 400; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, shortly after 410; and possibly S. Pudenziana[1].



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 272. S. Vitale. Capital, reemployed at altar



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 273. S. Vitale, East arcade, capital

Mr. John Herrmann kindly supplies the following note: "A number of capitals carrying fifth century arches remain in their original places, in the open façade (figs. 273, 275), in the frontal portico (fig. 274) and on the first and twelfth columns of the right nave arcade. All are schematic composites; since they fit their shafts, it is very likely they were newly made for the basilica. Other composites in the rebuilt parts of S. Vitale must likewise have come from the original construction. This group of capitals stands out from other sets of schematic composites in Early Christian Churches (S. Paolo f.l.m., S. Sisto Vecchio[2]) in exhibiting a rare degree of variety and originality. Both the leaf zone and the 'ionic' part of the capital are varied. The soft, low-quality capitals of the frontal portico have only



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 274. S. Vitale, narthex, capital



(Photo: Herrmann)

Fig. 275. S. Vitale, East arcade, capital

[1] Matthiae, *op. cit.*, *passim*; see also above, Vol. I, pp. 121 f., 129 f., 298 ff., and Vol. III, pp. 216 ff., 298.

[2] See above p. 167.

one ring of leaves; their volutes are scrolls emerging from the echinus (fig. 272). The dignified capitals of the open façade have the normal two rings of eight leaves and smooth volutes (figs. 273, 275). In the longitudinal colonnades of the basilica, capitals again have two rings of leaves, but the middle leaf of the upper ring may lie flat against the chalice (fig. 261) or may disappear altogether. In a pair of capitals that may originally have come from the column screens subdividing the frontal portico, the lower ring is multiplied to 12 and then 14 leaves (fig. 272). Normal composite volutes are exchanged for corinthian volutes on long stems or for 'leather-leaf' volutes. The series represents an effort to breathe new life into a conventional capital type through continuous change of details of the basic apparatus".

The blocking of the quintuple arcade which opened into the nave from the narthex must have occurred shortly after the church had been completed. It corresponds exactly to the change which occurs about 432 to 440 at S. Pietro in Vincoli (Church A) and at SS. Giovanni e Paolo [1].

The later remodelings of S. Vitale can be dated either by their technique of construction, by their style or by documentary evidence. The triple arch which apparently divided the last three arcades from the rest of the nave seems Romanesque from its *falsa cortina* pointing; possibly it dates from the twelfth century. The restoration of the nave arcade in which every third column was replaced by a pier is harder to date: the rhythmic alternation of supports is characteristic of late eleventh and early twelfth century practice in Rome, as in the restoration of the lower church and the building of the upper church at S. Clemente, after 1084 and prior to 1128 respectively; the present church of the Quattro Coronati, dated 1116; and the rebuilding of S. Maria in Cosmedin at about the same time [2]. On the other hand, the technique of masonry coincides with Roman building custom of the later Middle Ages, as represented for instance by the fourteenth century campanile of S. Maria Maggiore. Thus we must assume that the rhythmic alternation of supports at S. Vitale belatedly takes up a design prevalent in Rome about 1100, but possibly continuing for some time. The will of Niccolò de' Cappocci, who in 1368 directed his heirs to provide for the repair of the church [3], might possibly indicate the date for this campaign of reconstruction. The abolition of the aisles and the construction of side walls with pointed windows is obviously the work of Sixtus IV and is dated 1475 by his inscription on the door lintel [4]. Finally the decoration of the interior with frescoes, the establishment of new altars, and the transformation of the last bays of the north aisle into a hemicyclical apse were effected in the late sixteenth century remodeling [5].

H. HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Vitale is well dated and easily visualized in its original state. It represents to perfection the type of the Early Christian basilica in Rome shortly after 400 A.D. In plan, it consists of nave, two aisles and semicircular apse; it was constructed of comparatively light walls supporting timber roofs over all parts, except the half dome of the apse; in its proportions, the length of the nave is three times its width, and its height is six-fifths of the width; the broad,

[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 299; Vol. III, pp. 218, 225.
[2] See above, p. 158, note 3.
[3] See above, fig. 1368.
[4] See above, fig. 1475.
[5] See above, fig. 1592-1605.

six foot wide clerestorey windows are narrowly spaced $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. It is typical also in the design of the capitals and, finally, in the nave façade which opens toward the narthex. Only two or three features are somewhat exceptional and otherwise unknown: the triple arcade through which the narthex opened on its sides; the length of the nave arcade — fifteen arches instead of the customary twelve or thirteen; and perhaps also the considerable height of the wall between the apex of the arches and the clerestorey windows.

INDEX OF CHURCHES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
FOURTH VOLUME

Abbreviations of frequently quoted works V

Preface XI

SS. QUATTRO CORONATI 1

Figures. 1: Church and convent from northwest, ca. 1890; – 2: Gate tower and entrance to outer court; – 3: Inner courtyard, arches of north arcade of earlier basilica; – 4: Interior, looking west; – 5: South transept wall showing clerestory wall of earlier church; – 6: Guide plan of church and forecourts; – 7: Apse, exterior; – 8: Base of northwest corner buttress seen from east; – 9: Substructure of north aisle and intermediate buttress; – 10*a*: Roman bracket and remains of north exedra; – 10*b*: Anonymous drawing of a corbel, 1515-1520; – 11: Building to the north of north aisle; west wall showing Carolingian corbels; – 12: Outer court, looking toward gateway tower; – 13: Outer court, westernmost arch of north arcade; – 14*a*: Inner court, northeast end pier of Carolingian nave; – 14*b*: Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave; – 15: Inner court, southeast end pier of Carolingian nave; – 16: Inner court, southeast corner showing remains of classical cornice embegded in Carolingian masonry; – 17: Reconstruction of Carolingian nave cornice; – 18: North colonnade stylobate, view from southwest cellar beneath inner court; – 19: West side of cellar beneath inner court, antecedent walls; – 20: South side of former north aisle; – 21: Pavement in western half of north aisle; – 22: Southeast corner of chamber (« vestry ») of north aisle; – 23: North transept of present church; – 24: Carolingian crypt with niche for lamp; – 25: South aisle wall, exterior; – 26: South chapel, exterior; – 27: South chapel, interior; – 28: Reconstructed plan of original apsed building; – 29: Reconstructed plan of Carolingian basilica; – 30: Suggested reconstruction, Carolingian gate tower and porch from northeast; – 31: Reconstruction of early Romanesque basilica.

Plates. I: Ground plan; – II: *a*) Longitudinal section, *b*) North elevation (western part), *c*) West elevation.

SS. QUIRICO E GIULITTA 37

Figures. 32: Giovannoli, View of church from south across *forum transitorium*, 1618; – 33: Scamozzi, View of church from south across *forum transitorium*, 1582; – 34: Fra Santi, Façade of church with former apse, 1588; – 35: Relative levels from first century through eighteenth century; – 36: Finds below present nave, plan; – 37: South wall of nave; – 38: Finds below present nave, longitudinal section; – 39: Apse A, below present floor level, north side of nave; – 40: Plan of church, prior to 1728: – 41: Base of altar, original church; – 42: Original church, chapel on south side of bema; junction between wall b^2 and F – F^1 with remains of *opus sectile* pavement; – 43: South wall, two easternmost windows; – 44: Westernmost window of nave (right hand edge) and window above north apse; – 45: Northeast corner of nave with Romanesque cornice of north wall and remains of original window in east wall; – 46: Hypothetical reconstruction of church in the sixteenth century, based on known details of south wall and view of west façade in 1588.

Plate. III: Ground plan, elevation, cross section.

S. SABA 51

Figures. 47: Valenciennes, View from northeast, 1778-1781; – 48: Sketch plan of present church, forecourt, convent buildings and (broken line) oratory; – 49: Northwest corner of present nave and of oratory during Canizzaro's excavations; – 50: West wall of present church (hall façade), interior face during excavations; – 51: West wall of present church (hall façade and later alterations), interior face; – 52: Original hall, reconstruction of west and north façades; – 53*a*: South part of west wall, east face; – 53*b*: South part of west wall, east face, analysis; – 54*a*: North part of west hall, east face; – 54*b*: North part of west hall, east face, analysis; – 55: Apse of oratory during excavations; – 56: Loculi at northeast corner of oratory; – 57: Northeast corner of oratory showing gallery with loculi, oratory pavement, secondary doorway to side chapel D-D, and (right edge) springing of apse; – 58: Southeast corner of oratory and right hand shoulder of apse; – 59: Left hand shoulder of springing of oratory apse, with traces of footings of chancel screen; – 60: Main portal of present nave, remains of triple arch, and (bottom left) reverse face of niche in second-period filling wall, during excavations, ca. 1900; – 61: Fragments of furnishings, including window pier (left) and door lintel; – 62: Fragment of door lintel; – 63: Pier, probably from double window in apse of oratory; – 64: Restoration of apse window; – 65: North wall of chapel on left flank of oratory, viewed from southwest; – 66: South opening of triple arch seen from west and (right edge) part of additional arcade.

Plate. IV: Elevation, ground plan.

S. SABINA 72

Figures. 67: Site plan with Roman remains: – 68: View from southeast, 1931; – 69: Interior; – 70: Ground plan, ca. 1483; – 71: Borromini or Workshop. Plan, ca. 1640 (?); – 72: East part of right hand flank, clerestory, and aisle, incorporating second century and fourth century buildings; – 73: East part of right hand aisle, bays incorporating Roman constructions; – 74: « *dromos* building », footing of dromos screens and floor tiles originally carrying *opus sectile* veneer; – 75: « *dromos* » building, mosaic pavement; – 76: « *dromos* » building, *opus sectile* pavement below narthex; – 77: Façade of narthex; – 78: – Façade of narthex, survey Prandi-Darsy: – 79: Narthex, doorway to right hand aisle; – 80: Narthex, door frame, nave portal; – 81: Right aisle and nave; – 82: Capital; – 83: View of right flank; – 84: Right hand clerestory, detail, windows 1-4; – 85: Nave, interior façade, mosaic as of 1960; – 86: View of apse.

Plates. V: Ground plan; – VI: Sections.

S. SEBASTIANO 99

Figures. 87: Vergelli, View of church from north, 1688; – 88: Nave of present church; – 89: Fasiolo, Plan, 1915; – 90: Lafréry, View of church from northeast, 1575; – 91: Views of apse and ambulatory from southwest, 1915; – 92: Villa, mausolea; and memoria, plan; – 93: Sections through villa, mausolea and triclia (above), and through staircase to spring (below); – 94: Memoria courtyard, triclia and (foreground) cella 80, isometric view; – 95: Reconstruction of memoria courtyard, triclia and stairs descending; – 96: View across memoria courtyard (middle ground) showing north loggia (right edge), memoria niche (center background) and the Roman mausolea; – 97: Wall shaft (left), passage way (center) and ambulatory with fin walls and loculi shelves (right), 1924; – 98: Memoria niche; – 99: Ambulatory perimeter, substructure showing fin walls and loculi shelves and (right) right hand corner pier and column base of cella 8; – 100*a*: Model of basilica, exterior from south; – 100*b*: Model of basilica, interior, facing south; – 101: Ambulatory wall substructure with fin walls and (foreground) remains of villa; – 102: Substructure of south wall of basilica, with fin walls and remains of loculi slabs and (right hand) substructure of south arcade of nave, looking west, during excavations, 1923-1932; –103: Area below south aisle corresponding to piers 12, 11 and 10 (left hand), with south aisle wall (right hand) and (middle ground) vaulted passage to well stairs, looking east; – 104: Ambulatory, showing scars of fin walls with curved tops; – 105: North lapidarium from Mausoleum of the Five Sarcophagi, facing west, showing fin walls (right) and entrance to Mausoleum; – 106: Forecourt, pier of basilica façade (center) and (right) south wall of Mausoleum of the Five Sarcophagi; – 107: South aisle (lapidarium), facing east, showing (to the left) arcades of nave and

ambulatory; – 108: Ambulatory arcade piers and springings of arch; – 109: Cornice of ambulatory pier, showing stucco covering; – 110: Piers of nave arcade and substructure, below ambulatory, showing stylobates and (upper left) marble sarcophagus; – 111: Ambulatory, pier with painted decoration imitating marble; – 112: North aisle, facing west, showing (left edge) northeast corner pier of nave and arcades; – 113: Clerestory window, springing of arch; – 114: North clerestory as of 1923-1932, showing the three easternmost windows and (bottom left) two arches of nave arcade; – 115: Windows of east façade of nave above present narthex; – 116: Anterior of narthex showing springing of southernmost arcade of nave façade; – 117*a*: Plan of tombs in west half of basilica, 1915; apparently schematized; – 117*b*: Plan of tombs, including ambulatory, east part of nave and narthex, 1921; – 118: Graves in nave during excavation; – 119: Crypt of St. Sebastian, facing west, showing descending stairs; – 120: Threshold with monogram facing Via Appia; – 121: Ménéstrier, Plan of catacomb below and north of St. Sebastian; – 122: Triple arcade of Mausoleum 43; – 123: Entrance wall of mausoleum 44 (left) and of mausoleum 43 (right edge), showing westernmost column base of triple arcade of mausoleum 43 communicating with south aisle of basilica, during excavation; – 124: Mausoleum 44, inner face of entrance wall, during excavation; – 125: Rotunda (mausoleum 41), facing east; – 126: Platonia, facing northeast, showing original triple entrance and niches of mausoleum and (left edge) outer wall of ambulatory; – 127: Plan of basilica, reconstruction; – 128: Ménéstrier, Parapet slab and dedication from crypt of St. Sebastian, 401-417; – 129: Fragment of parapet slab from Crypt of St. Sebastian, 401-417.

Plates. VII: Ground plan; – VIII: Longitudinal section, transverse section.

S. SILVESTRO IN CAPITE 148

Figures. 130: Franzini, South façade of atrium and convent, 1600; – 131: Dupérac-Lafréry, View of church, 1577; – 132: Giovannoli, Convent, east façade, 1619; – 133: Palladio, Plan and elevation; – 134: Interior; – 135: Foundation walls of rear wall of west aisle and (right edge) of left hand nave colonnade; – 136: Foundation walls of rear wall of east aisle and (left edge) of right hand nave colonnade; – 137: Column of right hand (east) arcade seen from chapel of the Sacred Heart (1962); – 138: Column in left arcade seen from chapel of St. John the Baptist; – 139: Francesco da Volterra, Project for remodeling of church and atrium, 1591.

Plate. IX: Ground plan.

S. SISTO VECCHIO 163

Figures. 140: Façade viewed east; – 141: South flank; – 142; Column of north colonnade seen from cloister, as excavated in 1936; – 143: Column of north colonnade, seen from cloister, with shaft, capital and springing of arches, 1936; – 144: Column base and pavement of Early Christian church, excavated in 1936; – 145: Arches of north arcade as seen from cloister during excavation in 1936; – 146: Capital, North flank; – 147: Early Christian apse showing masonry and (background) left hand jamb of apse window, and (right edge) fifteenth century apse wall; – 148: Outer wall of north aisle as excavated in 1936; – 149: Fra Santi, Façade of atrium, 1588.

Plate. X: Longitudinal section, ground plan.

S. STEFANO DEGLI ABESSINI 178

Figures. 150*a*: Plan and elevation. survey Busiri, 1893; – 150*b*: Section and details, survey Busiri, 1893; – 151*a*: Transept, west wall and apse from South, prior to 1930; – 151*b*: Apse from South; – 152*a*: North transept, east wall from South west, prior to 1930; – 152*b*: Architrave of South transept; – 153: View of nave, transept and apse, after restoration; – 154*a*: View of *confessio* and annular crypt during excavation 1932; — 154*b*: North transept stairs to crypt, during excavation 1932; – 154*c*: Inscription of Leo IV from crypt.

Plate. XI: Ground plan, elevation.

S. STEFANO ROTONDO 199

Figures. 155: Jacopo Sansovino, Plan of church, ca. 1550; – 156: Anonymus (Palladio workshop?), Plan of church, ca. 1570, reconstruction; – 157: Air view of church; – 158: Fra Santi, View of façade with portico and (right hand) convent buildings, 1588; – 159: View from east chapel across ambulatory and nave; – 160: View of nave and diaphragm arcade; – 161: Exterior view from west; – 162*a*: Nave capital and entablature, seen from nave; – 162*b*: Nave capitals and entablature, seen from aisle; – 162*c*: Nave capital and entablature, seen from nave; – 163*a*: East chapel, arcade and view into ambulatory, showing (right back ground) relieving arches over nave entablature; – 163*b*: Nave colonnade, entablature and relieving arches, across ambulatory; – 164: Pavement and bedding between westernmost nave columns; – 165: Clerestory of nave showing ledge between windows; – 166: Exterior of drum from north; – 167: Diaphragm arch, north end pier and enclosed column; – 168: View of ambulatory, showing arcades, north and northeast sectors; – 169*a*: Foundation wall of ambulatory, northwest sector, and (right edge) of T-pier; – 169*b*: Foundation wall of ambulatory, northwest sector, and T-pier; – 169*c*: Foundation wall of ambulatory, west chapel, and (left hand) T-pier; – 170: Column of ambulatory, south chapel, from exterior; – 171: South chapel, marble pavement and column base in ambulatory colonnade; – 172: Southeast sector, mosaic pavement; – 173: Corinthian capital of east chapel; – 174*a*: Capital and impost blocks ambulatory, north sector, from inside; – 174*b*: Capital and impost blocks, ambulatory, northeast sector, from inside; – 174*c*: Capital, impost block and arches, ambulatory, southwest sector, from outside; – 175*a*: Southeast sector, T-pier toward south chapel, east face; – 175*b*: South chapel, perimeter wall; – 175*c*: West chapel, T-pier toward northwest sector, south face; – 175*d*: West chapel, perimeter wall; – 175*e*: West chapel, perimeter wall, dividing pier toward southwest sector, north face; – 175*f*: West chapel, perimeter wall, dividing pier toward southwest sector, south and east faces; – 175*g*: T-pier toward west chapel, from south; – 175*h*: T-pier toward northwest sector, from north; – 175*i*: T-pier toward south west sector from west; – 176: Southeast sector, bases and impost blocks of columns and arches toward ambulatory; — 177: Southeast sector, arches toward ambulatory, band of concrete with terra cotta tubes and (left hand) T-pier toward south chapel; – 178: Arcades of south chapel and T-pier toward southeast sector; – 179: Westernmost arcade of southwest sector, T-pier and arcades of west chapel with Romanesque apse; – 180: West chapel, arches with stucco moldings; – 181: Northwests sector showing reversed columns; – 182: View from east showing drum and north sector; – 183: Valadier, Elevation, interior face, south wall of east chapel, and (bottom) plan of east wall of north chapel and earlier finds; – 184*a*: South wall of east chapel, interior face, door with relieving arch, pier and (right) beginning of triple arcade; – 184*b*: South wall of east chapel, interior face, triple arcade; – 185: Exterior, ca. 1870, view from east showing perimeter wall of east chapel and (right hand) entrance portico; – 186: East chapel perimeter wall with apsidiole; – 187: Perimeter wall of east chapel (left) and juncture of seventh century absidiole (right); – 188: East wall of east chapel (right hand) and perimeter wall of southeast diagonal sector, separated by vertical fissure; – 189: East chapel, northeast corner (marked by arris right of rain pipe); – 190: Northern most entrance to southeast sector, showing wooden lintel, relieving arch and later blocking; – 191: Perimeter wall of west chapel (left) and northwest sector (right) and dividing wall pier; – 192*a*: Northwest sector, drain through perimeter wall; – 192*b*: Northwest sector, drain through perimeter wall; – 193*a*: Span wall (lower right to upper center) between northwest sector and north chapel, oversailing Roman wall, with springing of apse (lower left), viewed from north, during excavations of 1961; – 193*b*: Span wall between northwest sector and north chapel, oversailing Roman wall (lower center), and (upper right) leg of T-pier; – 193*c*: Northwest sector, curved wall (below wash house) separating outer and inner areas; – 193*d*: Foundation of dividing wall, northeast sector, and wall of drain, excavated in 1959; – 194: Frankl, Exterior reconstruction, 1935; – 195: Corbett, Reconstruction, 1961; – 196: Cronaca, Interior, ca. 1460.

Plates. XII: Ground plan; – XIII: Elevation.

S. STEFANO IN VIA LATINA 241

Figures. 197: Anonymus, View and plans of ruins, 1858; – 198: Parboni, Plan, 1859; – 199: View of church, facing west, 1900; – 200: Right hand colonnade, facing west, 1960; – 201: Narthex, west wall and (right edge) north wall; – 202: North wall of church, showing location

of door; – 203: North wall (right) and end wall of north aisle; – 204: South wall (left) and end wall of south aisle, detail; – 205: End wall of north aisle, showing door to baptistery; – 206: Apse wall, exterior, incorporating column base; — 207: View of apse, altar (middle ground) and walls of aedicula (foreground); – 208: Aedicula, north wall and (right) east wall; – 209: Aedicula north wall (a), with vault (b), terminating apse and wall of *schola* (c).

Plate. XIV: Ground plan.

S. SUSANNA 254

Figures. 210: Façade as of today; – 211: Interior; – 212*a*: North wall during demolition of adjoining houses, 1938; – 212*b*: North wall after demolition of adjoining houses, 1939; – 213: South wall of nave, showing foundation, stylobate and springing of arcades, 1938; – 214: North wall of nave, showing clerestory and gallery arcades, 1938; – 215: Wall of north aisle, 1938; – 216*a*: North chapel, from east, 1938; – 216*b*: North chapel, lower portions, from northeast, after further demolition of adjoining buildings; – 217: North chapel from west, 1938; – 218: Rear of façade and north clerestory 1939; – 219*a*: North wall, western extremity; – 219*b*: North wall, western extremity, detail on gallery level; – 219*c*: North wall, western extremity, detail; – 220*a*: South wall of nave, clerestory, western extremity and westernmost window, inside attic of convent; – 220*b*: South wall of nave, clerestory, between tenth and eleventh windows from east, inside attic of convent; – 220*c*: South wall of nave, clerestory, westernmost window, detail, inside attic of convent; – 220*d*: South wall of nave, clerestory, twelfth window, blocking in *falsa cortina*; – 221: South wall of nave, clerestory; – 222: South clerestory from campanile, showing bulge in wall; – 223: Apse and buttress, detail; – 224: Wall of south aisle, showing column and springing of arch; – 225: Fra Santi, façade.

Plates. XV: Ground plan; – XVI: Transverse section, Longitudinal section, North wall, exterior.

S. TEODORO 279

Figures. 226: Exterior; – 227: Breenbergh, view of S. Teodoro, 1620-1632; – 228: Carlo Fontana, Façade; – 229: Carlo Fontana, section; – 230: Carlo Fontana, plan; – 231: Carlo Fontana, interior section as remodeled; – 232: View of *horrea*, seen from Palatine, toward west; – 233: Plan of church, *horrea* and later remodeling; – 234: *Opus listatum* wall of late *tabernae* or houses inserted in *horrea*; – 235*a*: Northeast window and north apse; – 235*b*: Northwest window; – 236: Wing wall, arch and apse, seen from south.

S. VALENTINO 289

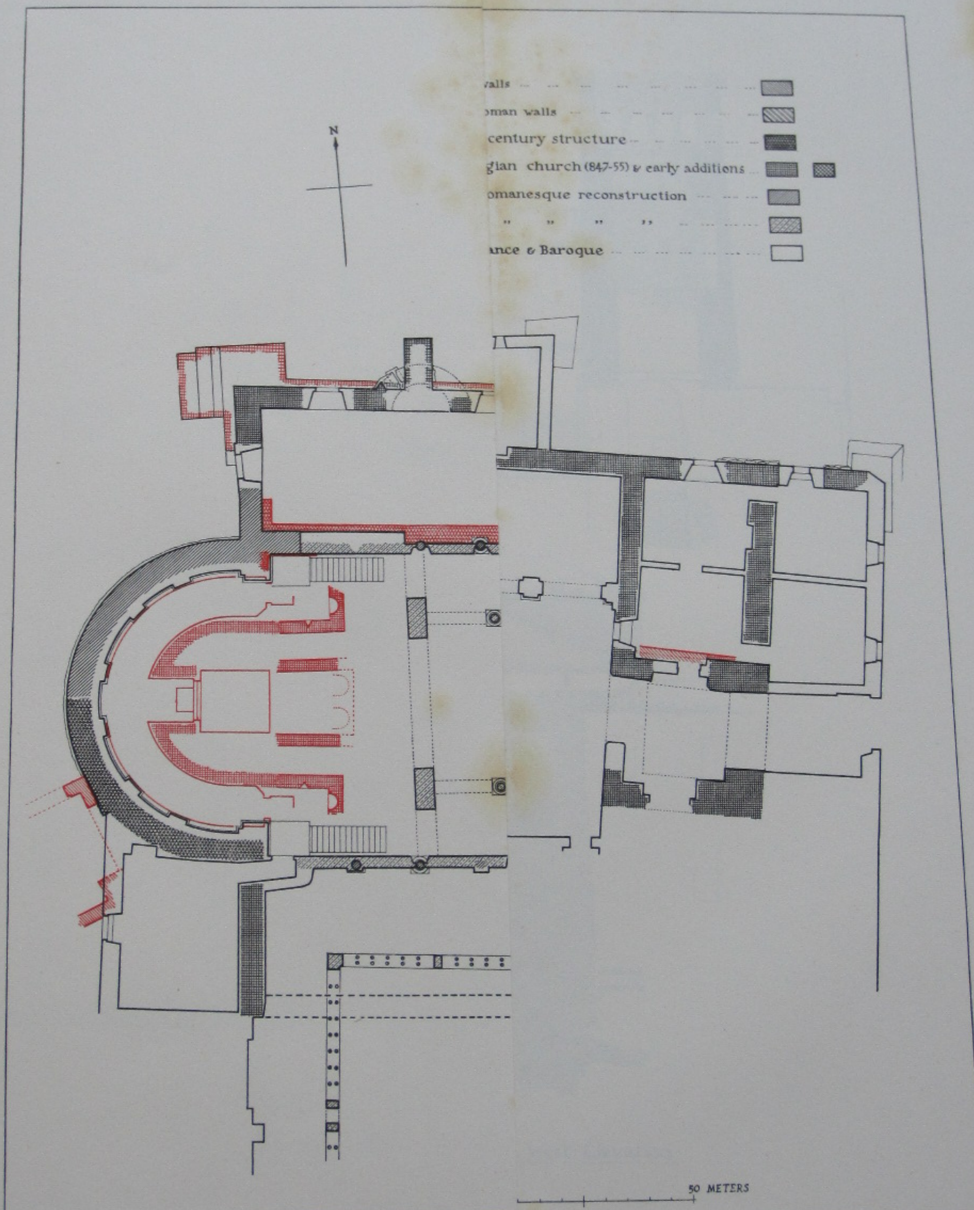
Figures. 237: Remains of church during excavations of Marucchi; – 238: Left mausoleum, apse and altar block; – 239: Small apse (foreground) and larger apse with niche (top), during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti; – 240*a*: Crypt, showing east wall of crypt (right), and wall and foundation of north mausoleum (left), abutted to its right by chord wall of early apse; — 240*b*: East wall of crypt, and, behind it, chord wall ob early apse; – 241: Fourth century (?) pier, south end, west wall of crypt, from northwest; – 242: Pier at north end, west wall of crypt; – 243*a*: North stylobate of nave, during excavation of Apollonj Ghetti, seen from southeast; — 243*b*: North stylobate of nave, from west, 1967; – 244: West wall of crypt, and walls of chancel screen and of « martyr's grave » during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti; – 245: Chancel screen, south wall, and (background) wing wall across south aisle, seen from northeast; – 246: Corridor crypt, from north, during excavations of Apollonj Ghetti; – 247: Exedra of crypt corridor; – 248: West wall of crypt, center, showing « *fenestella confessionis* » and (to the left) marble slab of late pavement; – 249: Conjectural reconstruction.

Plate. XVII: Ground plan.

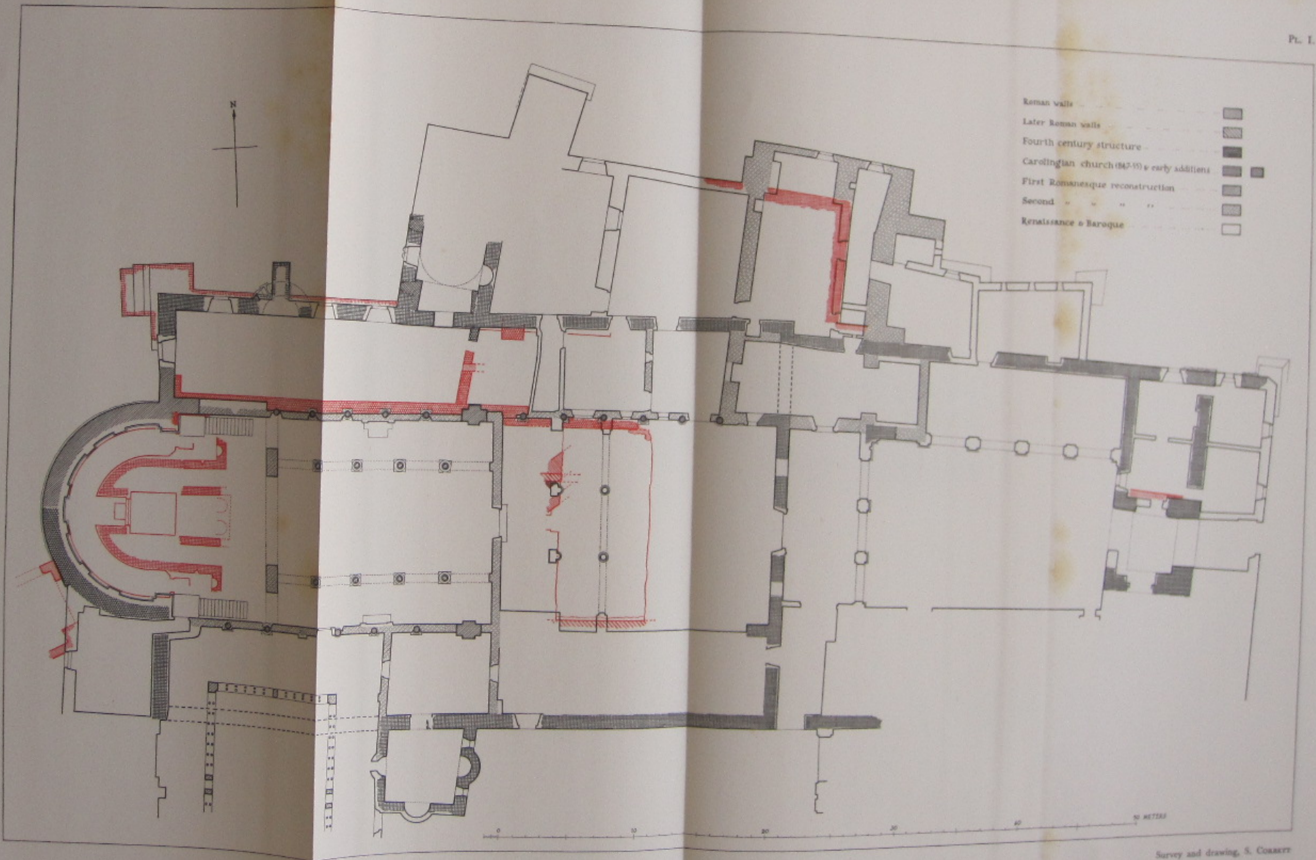
S. VITALE 313

Figures. 250: Air view, 1611; – 251: Interior, 1611; – 252: Façade; – 253: Masonry of façade, detail; – 254: Narthex, capital and arcades of façade; – 255: Façade of narthex; – 256: Narthex, interior arcade; – 257: Narthex, interior arcade, threshold and base of pier; – 258: Narthex, interior, revestment of arch; – 259: Narthex, interior, facing north; – 260: North wall of nave, east end; – 261: North wall of nave, column and arcades, east end; – 262: North wall of nave, arcade; – 263: North wall of nave, west end of arcade and transverse arch with *falsa cortina* pier; – 264: Apse and (left edge) end wall of north aisle; – 265: North clerestory, western part; – 266: South wall of nave, transverse arch in east wall of sacristy, and south clerestory; – 267: South clerestory, west end; – 268: Remains of original apse vault; – 269: Reconstruction; – 270: Sallustio Peruzzi, plan; – 271: Fra Santi, façade; – 272: Capital, reemployed at altar; – 273: East arcade, capital; – 274: narthex, capital; – 275: East arcade, capital.

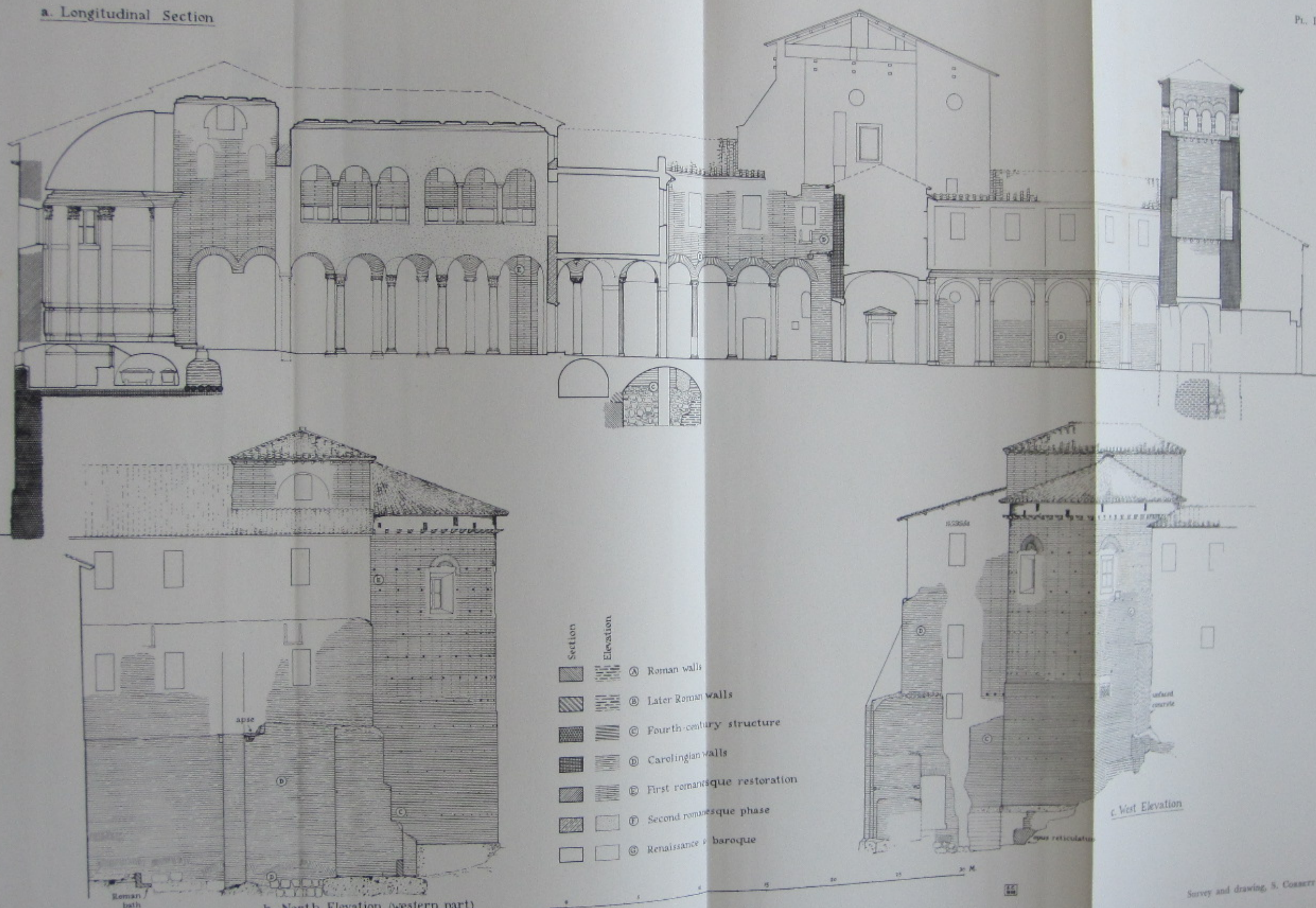
Plate. XVIII: East front, longitudinal section, ground plan.



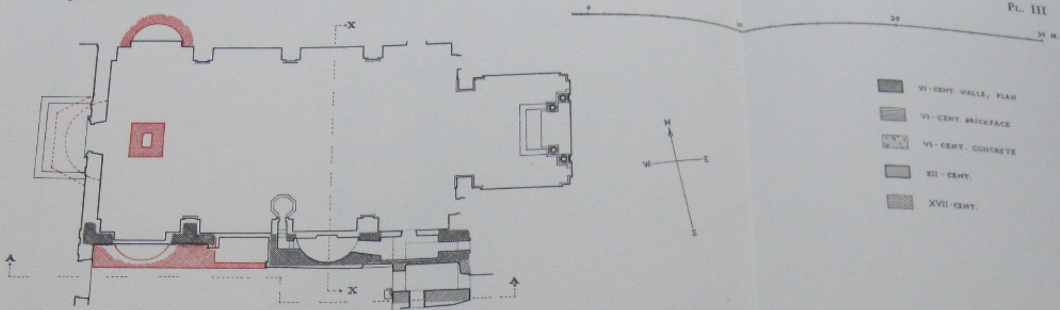
Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT

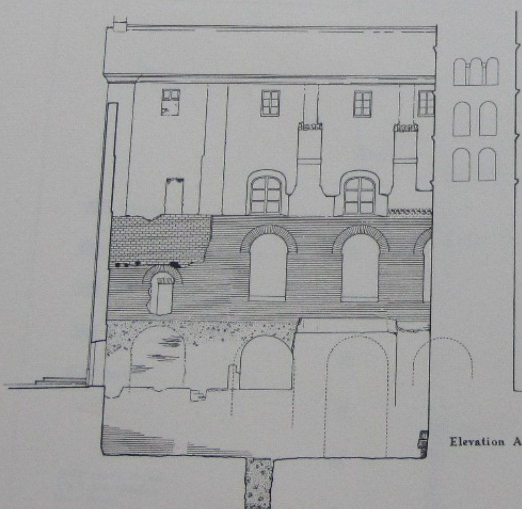


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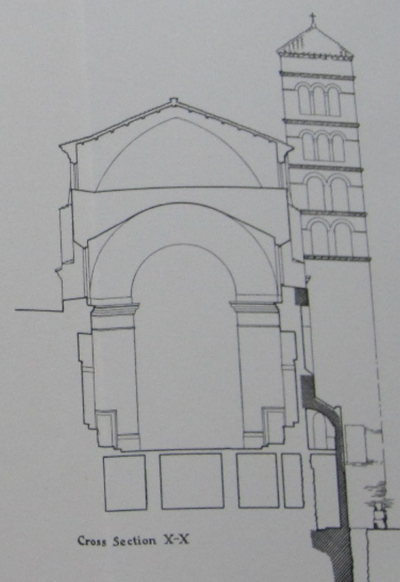


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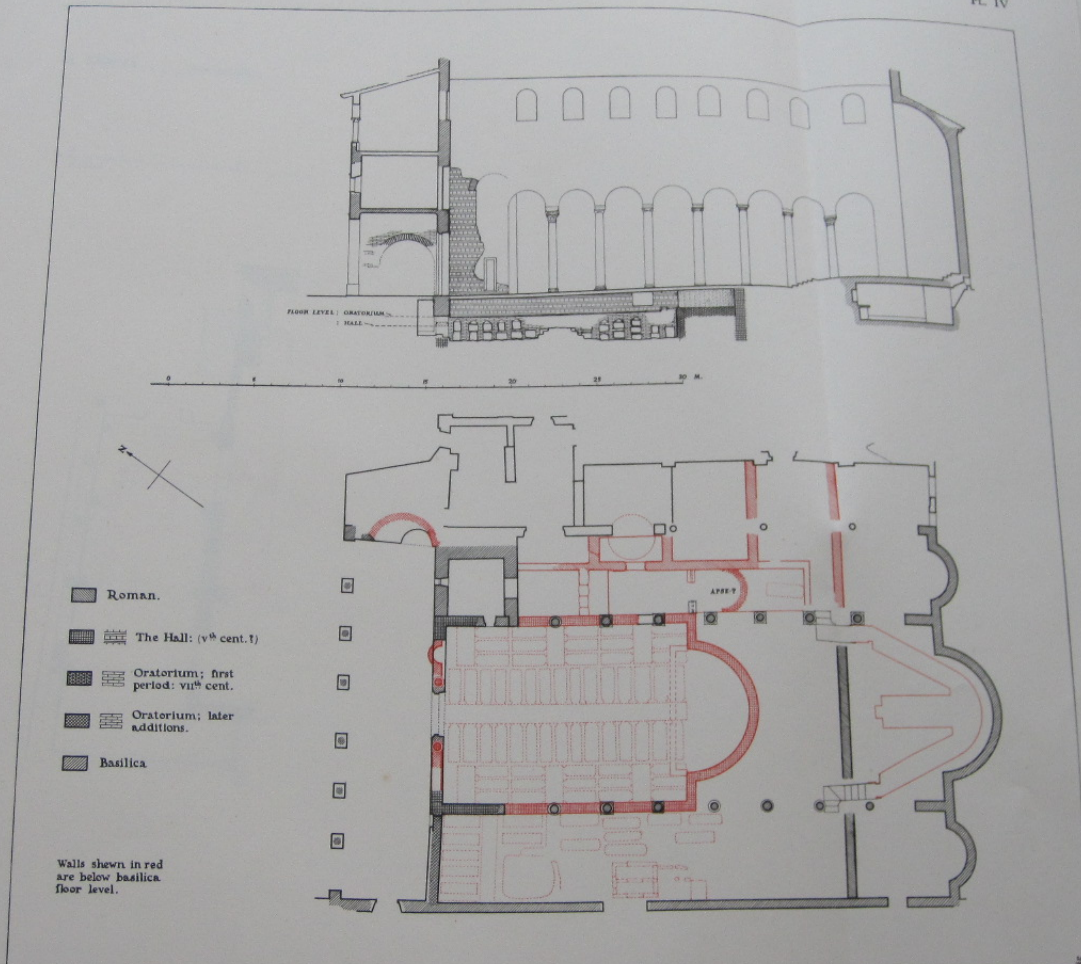


Elevation A-A



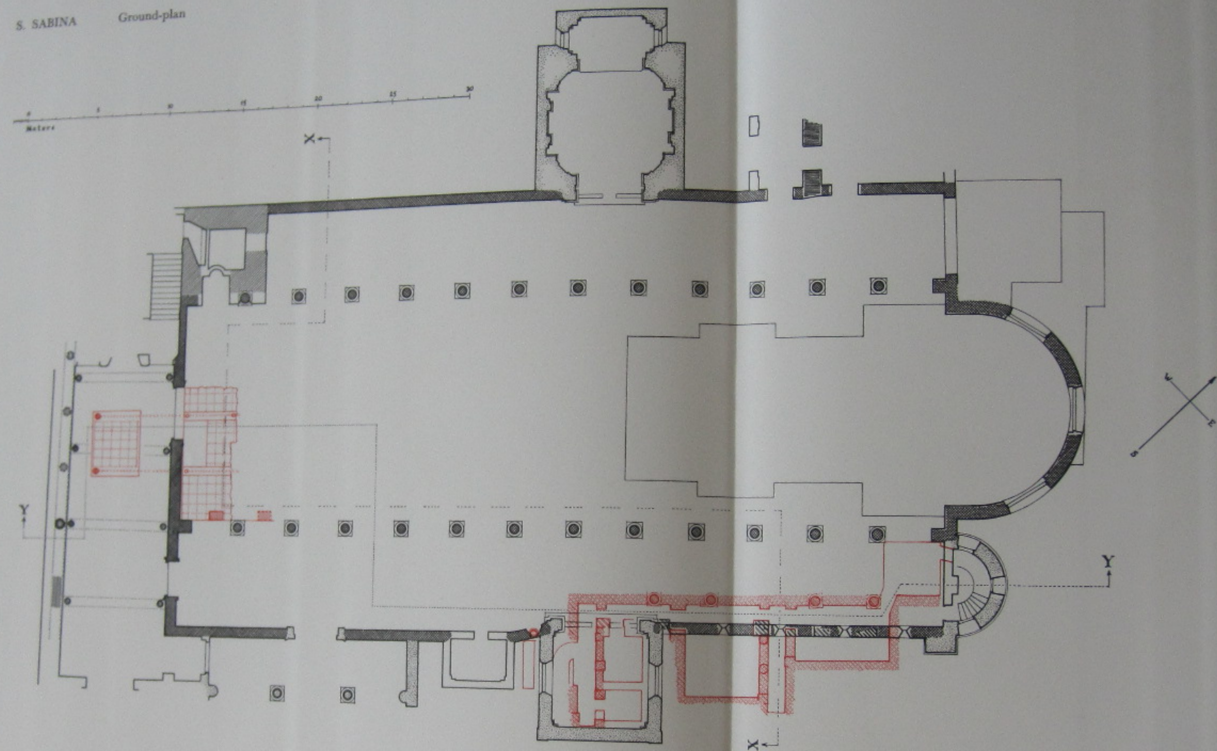
Cross Section X-X

Survey and drawing, S. Corbett

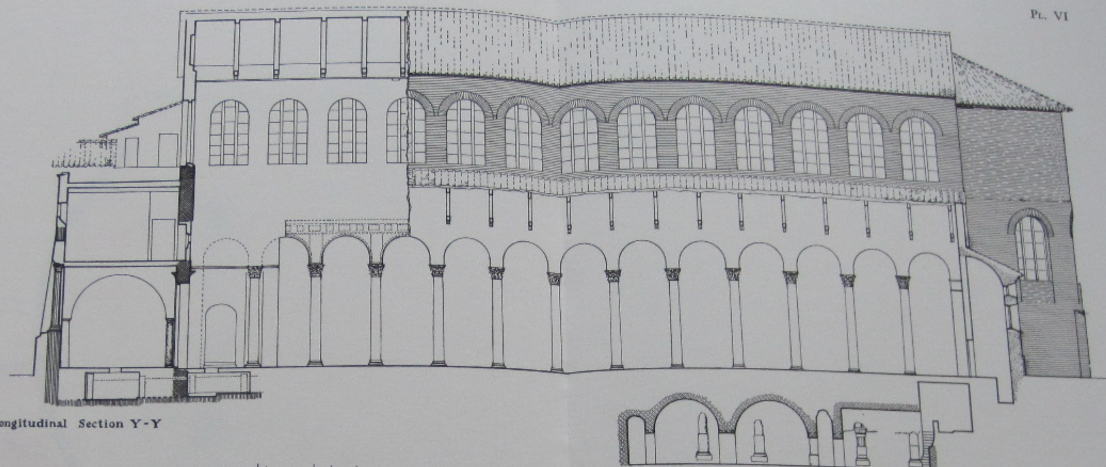


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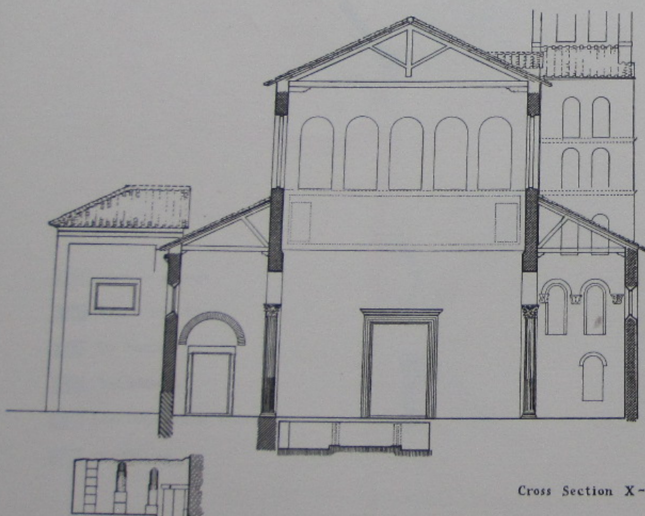
S. SABINA Ground-plan



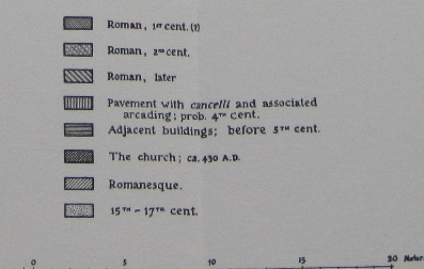
Survey and drawing, S. Corbett



Longitudinal Section Y-Y

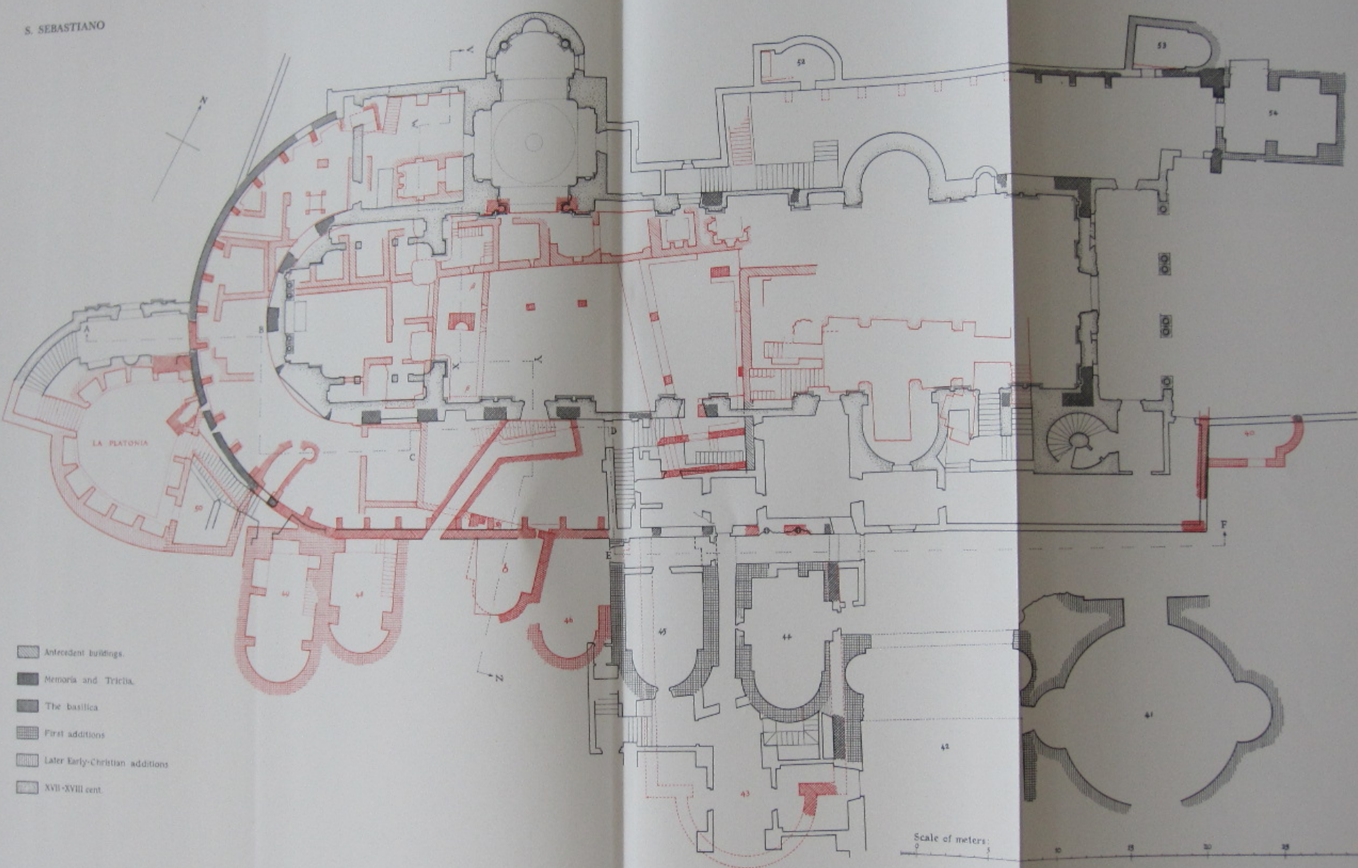


Cross Section X-X

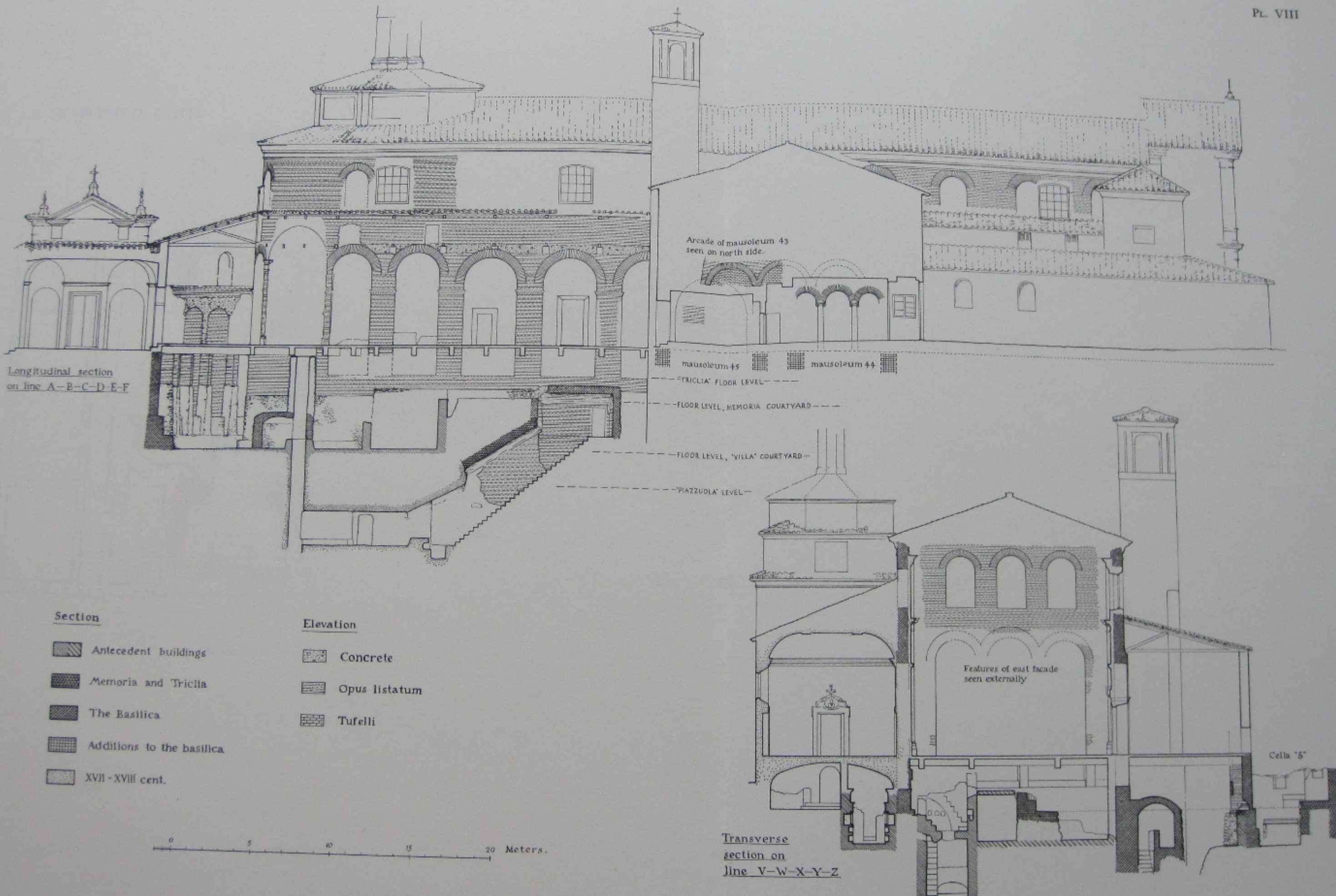


Survey and drawing, S. Corbett

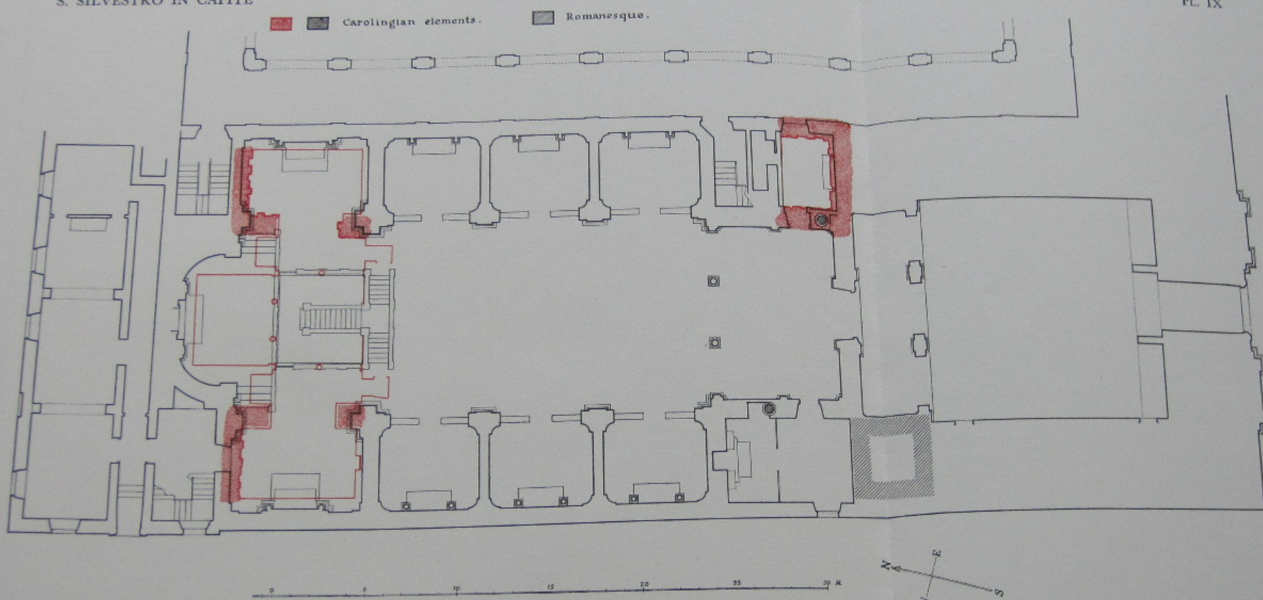
S. SEBASTIANO



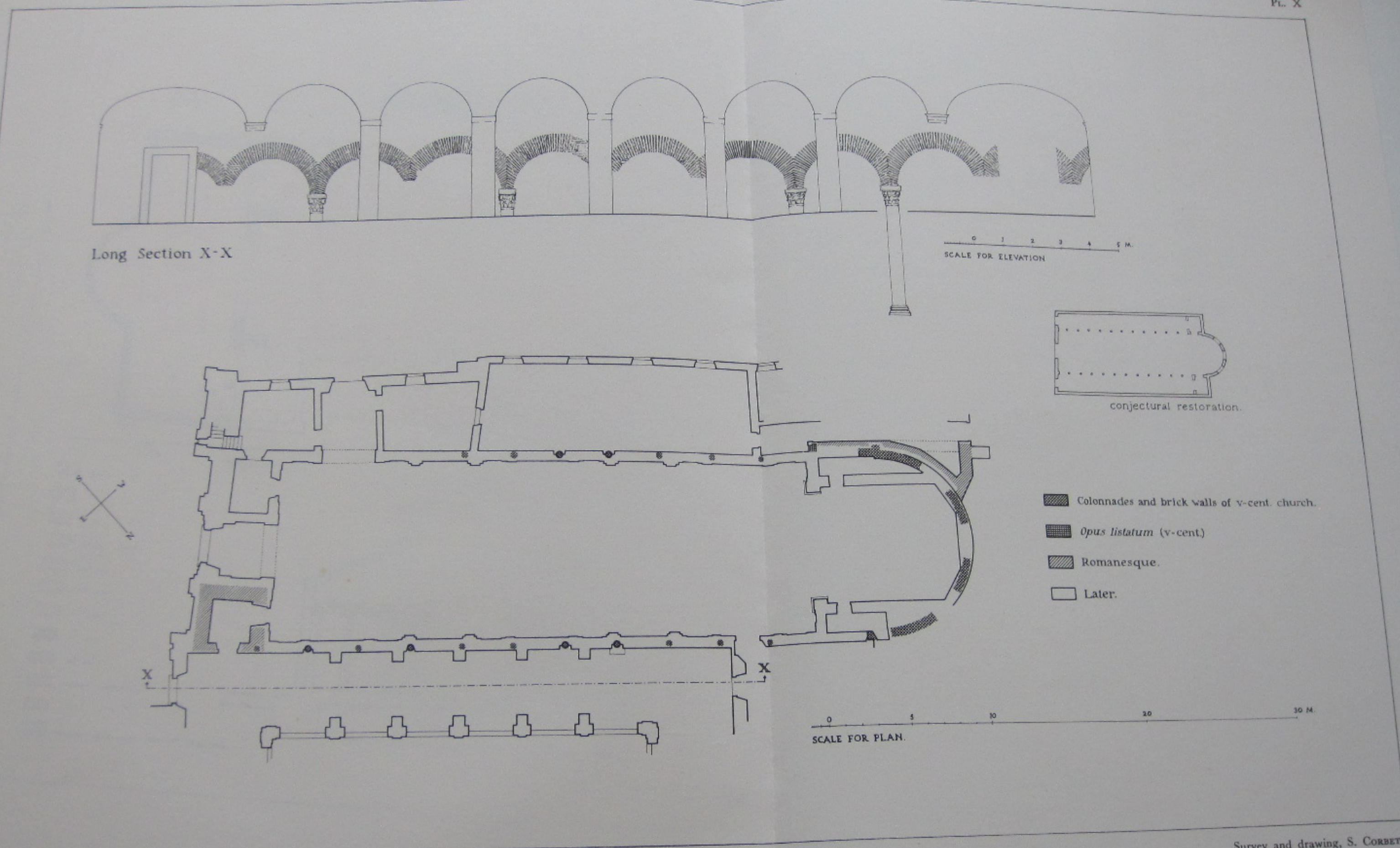
Survey and drawing, S. Corbett



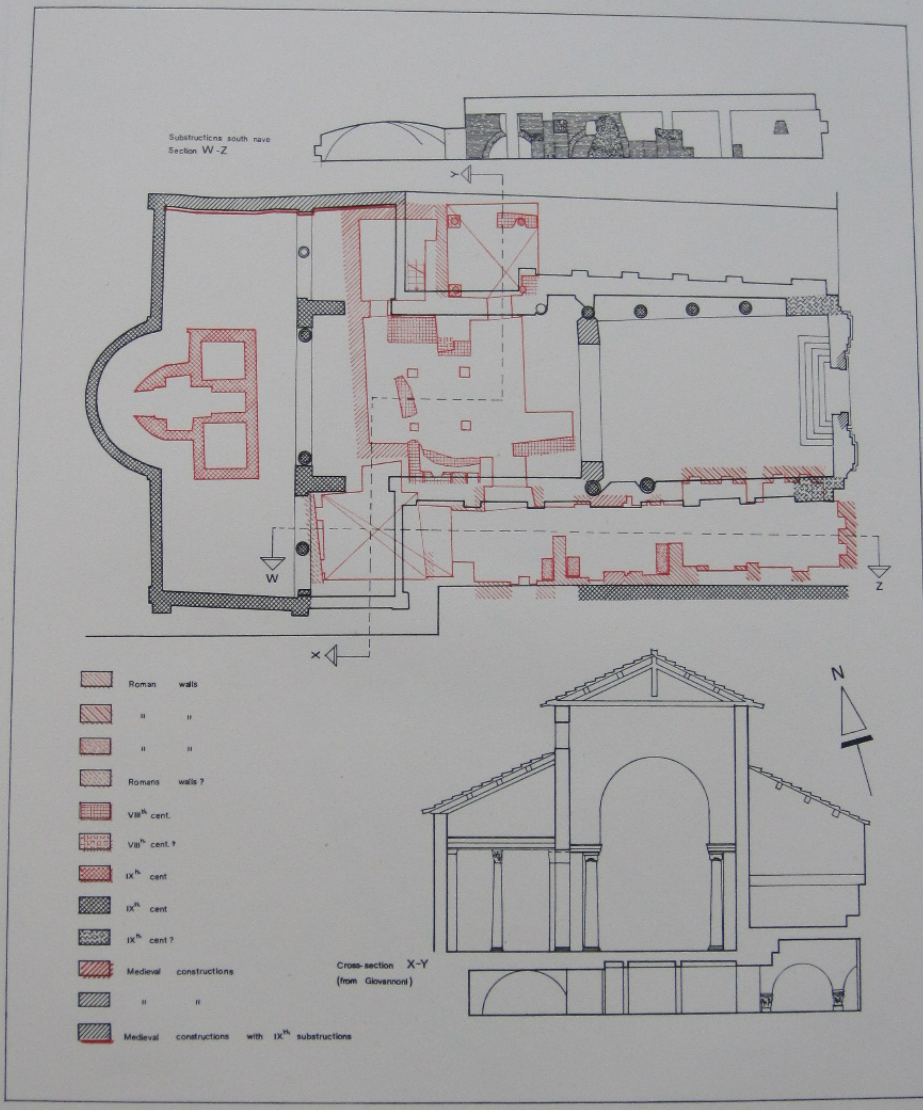
Survey and drawing, S. Corbett



Survey and drawing, S. Corbett

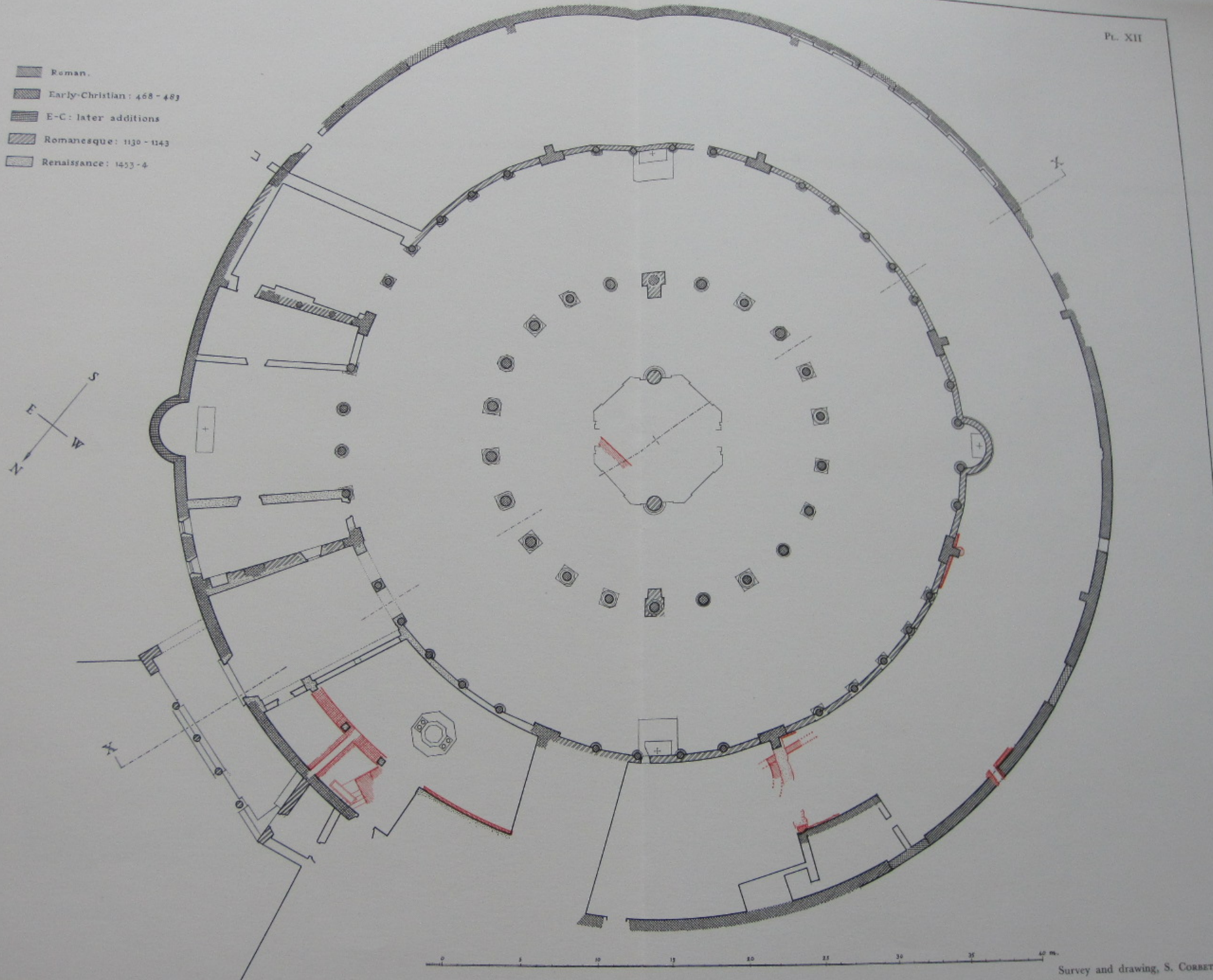


Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT



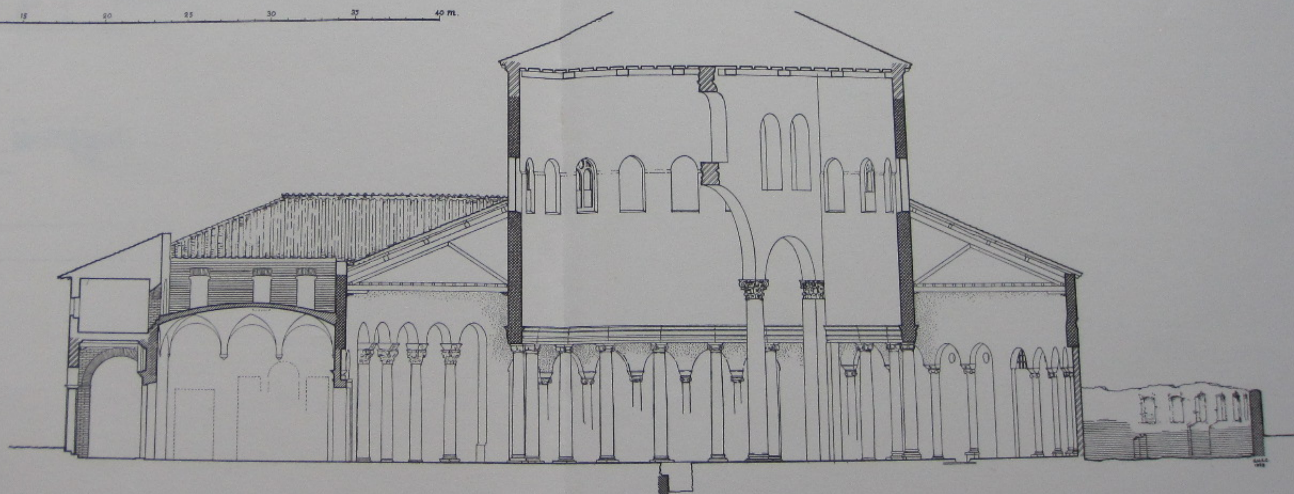
Survey and drawing, E. Monti
Incorporating survey, Giovannoni

S. STEFANO ROTONDO

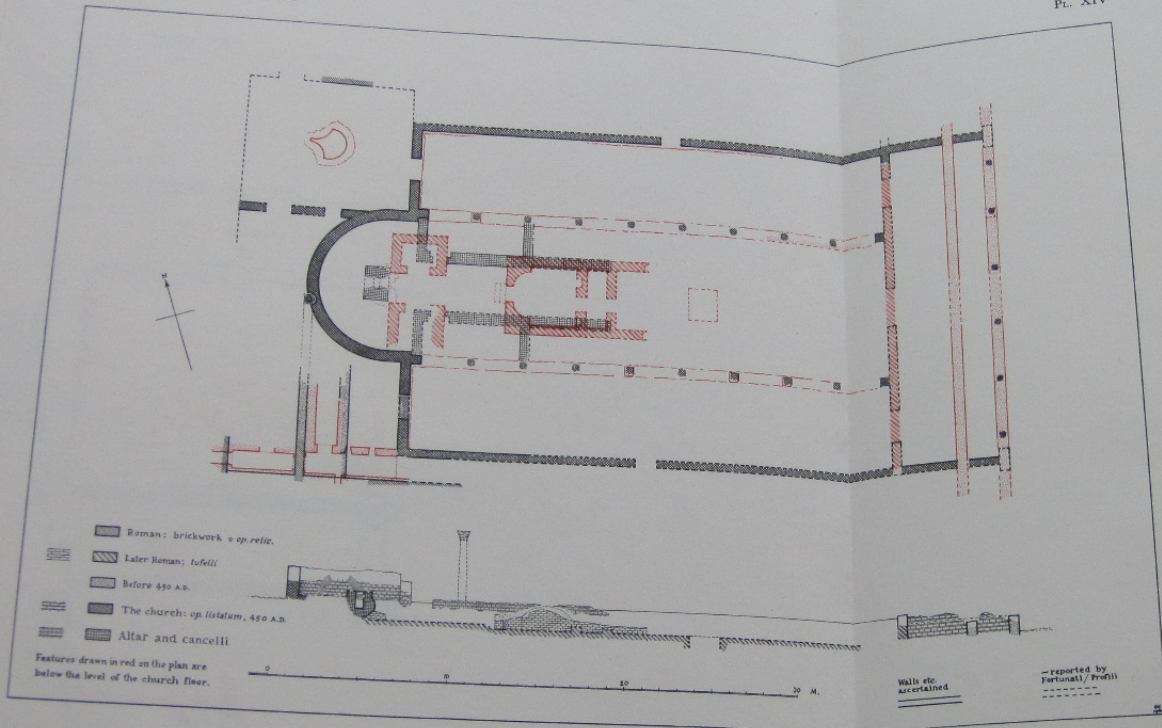


Survey and drawing, S. Corbett

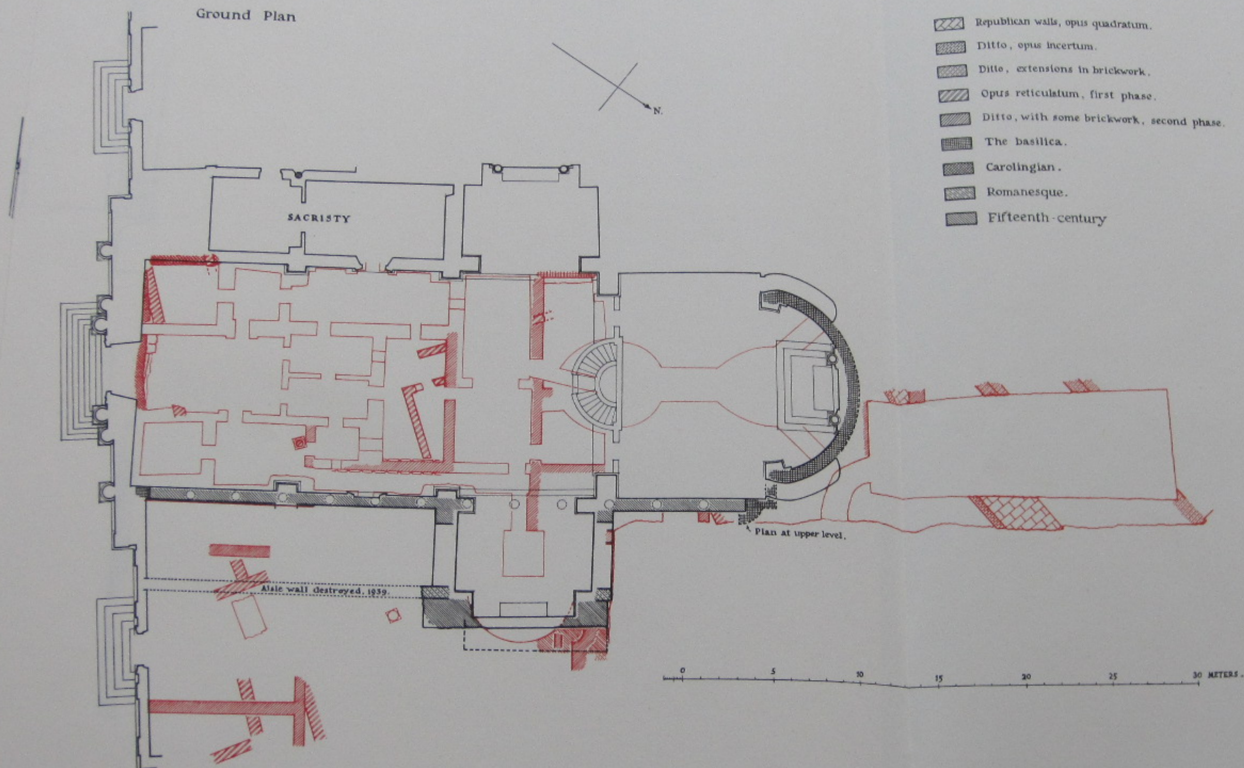




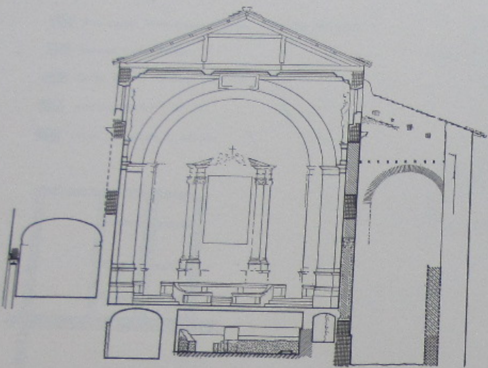
Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT



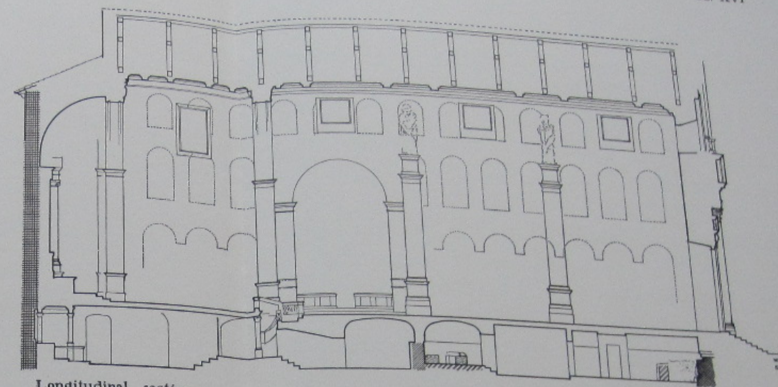
Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT



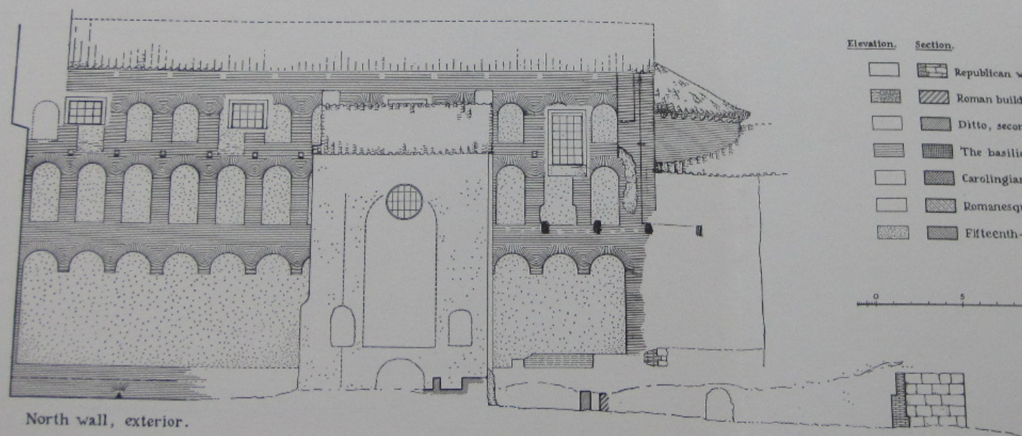
Survey and drawing, S. CORBETT
Incorporating sketches, W. FRANKL (1938)



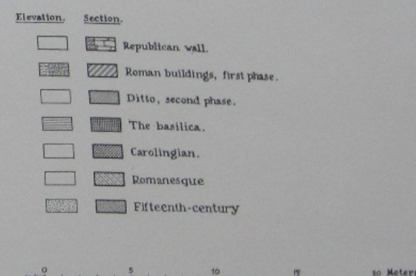
Transverse section



Longitudinal section

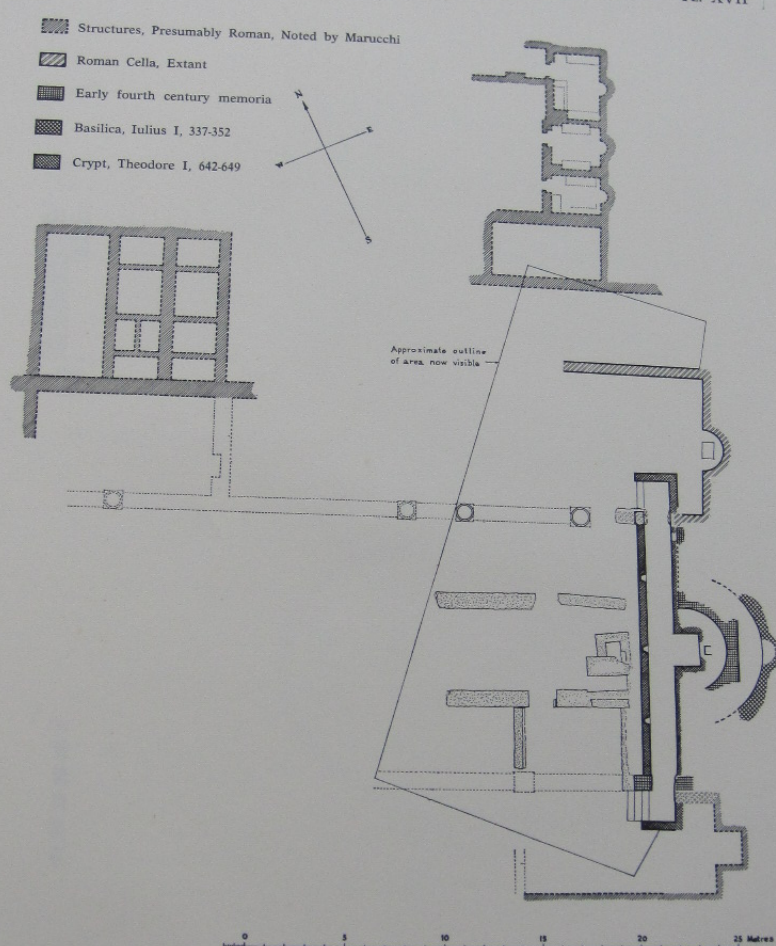


North wall, exterior.

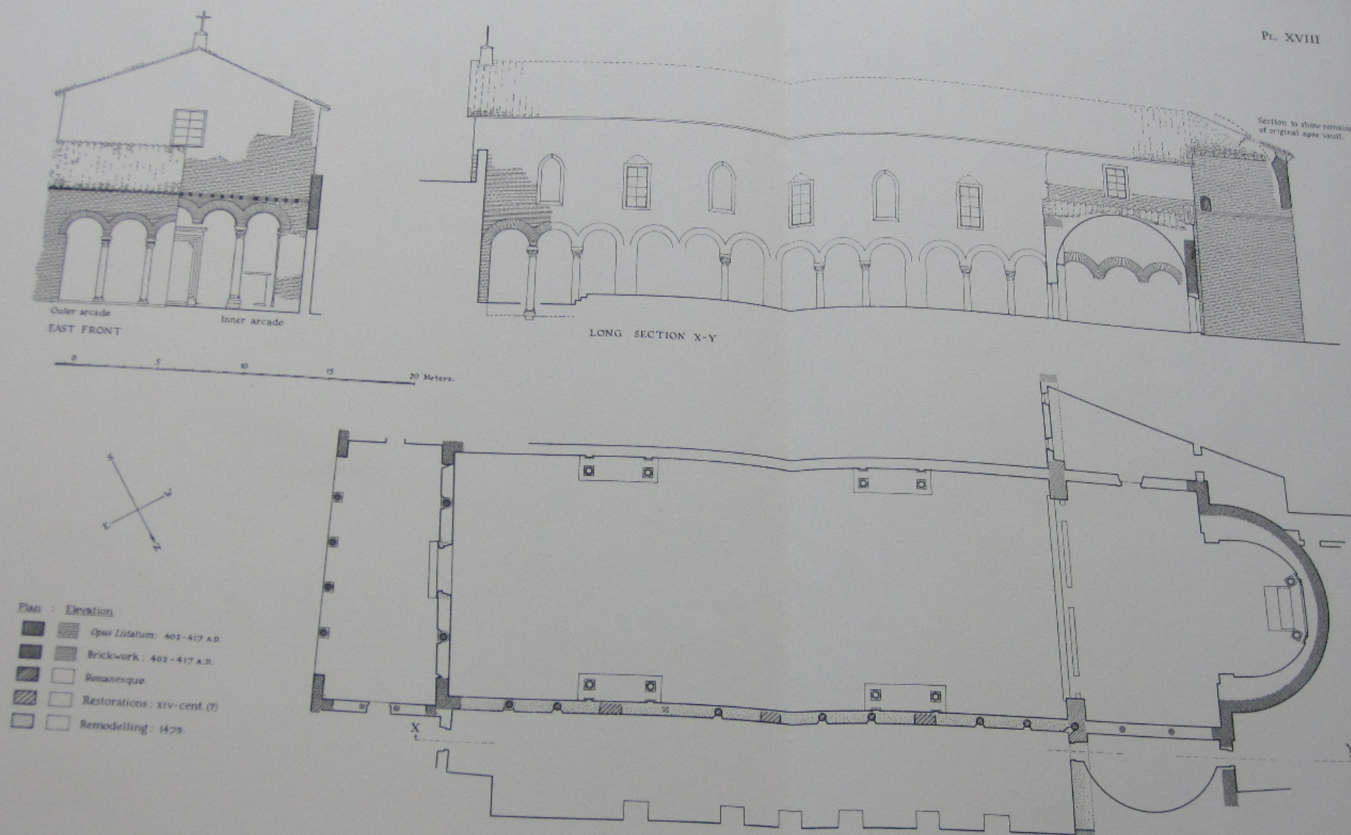


Survey and drawing, S. Corbett

S. VALENTINO



Survey and drawing, S. Corbett



Survey and drawing, S. Corbett